

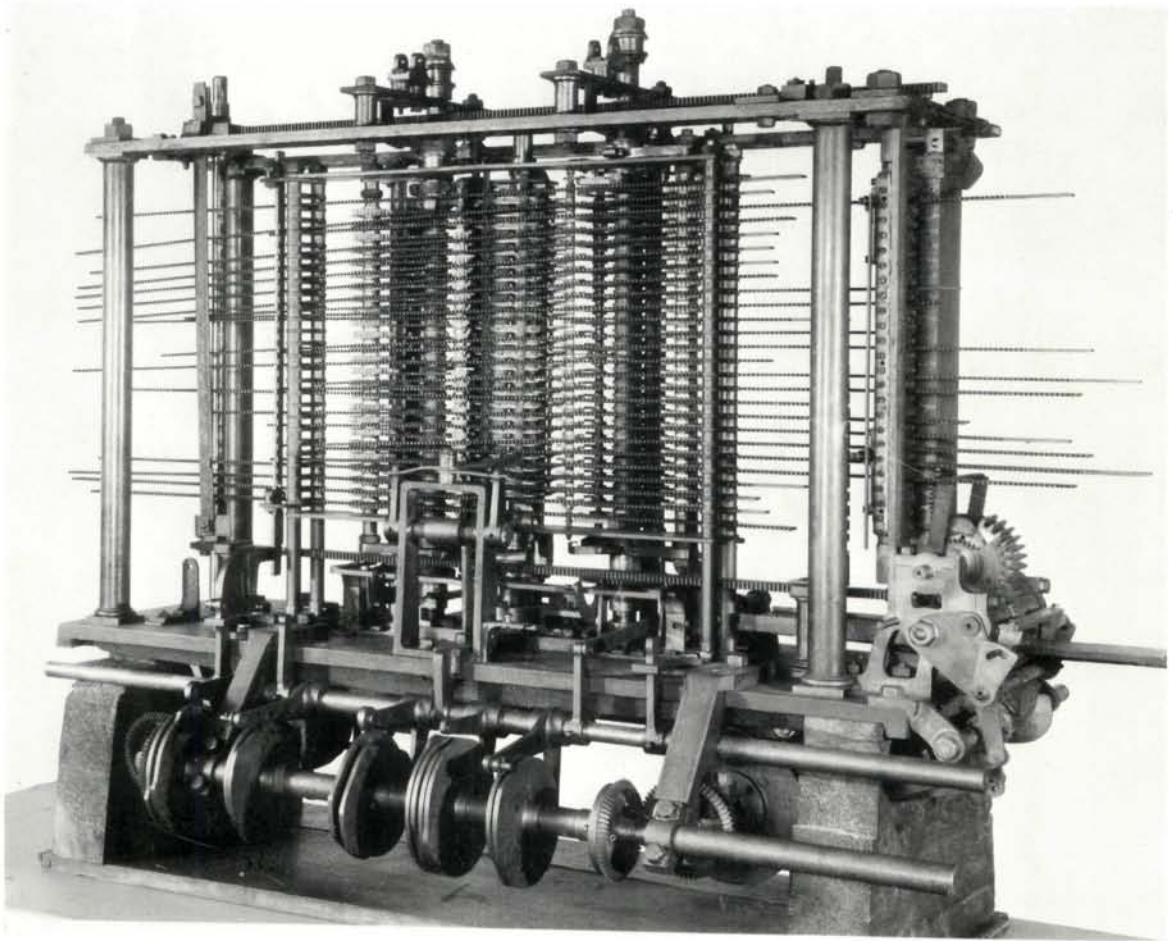
VOLUME 80 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1975

---

# The American Historical Review

---

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



**"A remarkable and deeply impressive study."** —*Times Literary Supplement*

In early 1917, America abandoned its traditional neutrality to enter World War I—even though intervention was not required by any treaty obligation or any immediate threat to the national interest.

The key to understanding this policy reversal, argues Patrick Devlin in a comprehensive new study, lies in the politics and personality of Woodrow Wilson. Using materials from the recently published Wilson papers, Lord Devlin offers provocative insights into the nature of Wilson's character, the style of his Administration, and the impact of his policies.

# **TOO PROUD TO FIGHT**

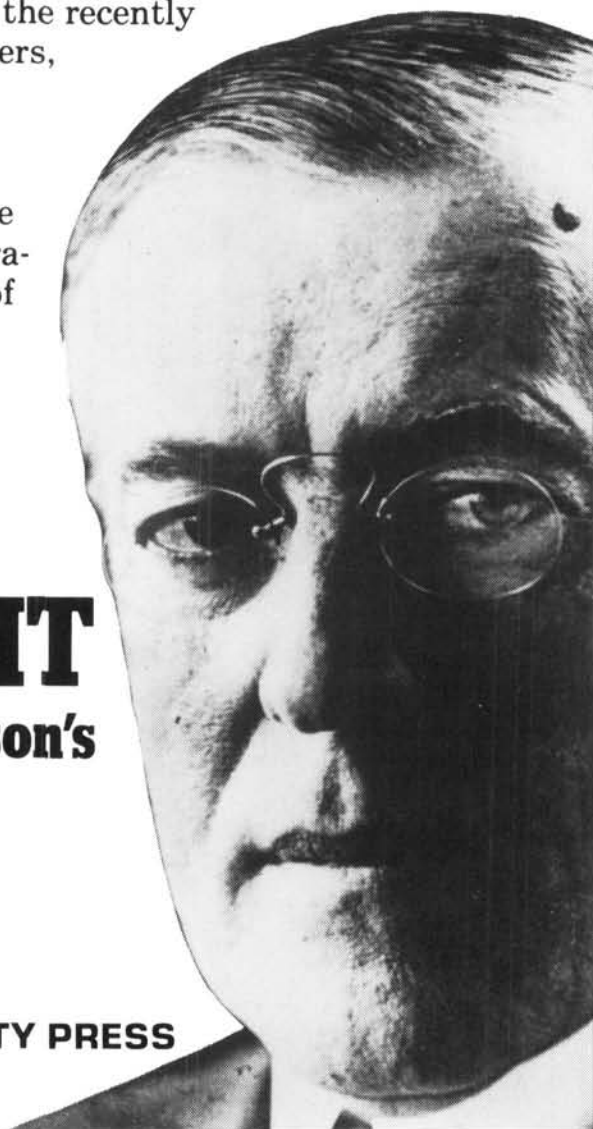
**Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality**

**PATRICK DEVLIN**

Illustrated, \$19.50

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS**

200 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016



VOLUME 80 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1975

---

# The American Historical Review

---

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*Cover Illustration.* A section of Charles Babbage's analytical engine, a forerunner of the modern computer. Crown Copyright. Courtesy Science Museum, London.

*The American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003, and is printed and mailed by the William Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues effective January 1, 1975: For incomes over \$30,000, \$40.00 annually; \$20,000-\$29,999, \$35.00; \$15,000-\$19,999, \$30.00; \$10,000-\$14,999, \$20.00; below \$10,000 and joint memberships, \$10.00; life \$650. Subscription rates: Class I, *American Historical Review* only, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$25.00, foreign \$27.00. Further information concerning membership and subscriptions is contained in the two pages immediately preceding the advertisements. Information concerning the ordering of back issues and the submission of manuscripts will be found on the page immediately preceding the advertisements.

Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Secretary of the Association within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Secretary by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1975

All rights reserved

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices



VOLUME 80 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1975

---

# The American Historical Review

---

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*Editor:* R. K. WEBB

*Managing Editor:* ANN HOFSTRA

*Associate Editor-Bibliographer:* JAMES J. DOUGHERTY

*Assistant Editor:* ROBIN E. BYRNES

*Editorial Assistants:* MARCIA G. CASTANEDA, MARYANN C. LESSO

*Advertising Manager:* RACHEL ROTH

## Board of Editors

PAUL J. ALEXANDER  
*University of California,  
Berkeley*

PHILIP A. KUHN  
*University of Chicago*

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY  
*University of California,  
Berkeley*

CHARLES GIBSON  
*University of Michigan*

KENNETH S. LYNN  
*Johns Hopkins University*

NANCY LYMAN ROELKER  
*Boston University*

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM  
*Vanderbilt University*

EDMUND S. MORGAN  
*Yale University*

FRITZ STERN  
*Columbia University*

## Contributors:

ROBERT WILLIAM FOGEL is currently professor of economics and history at both the University of Chicago and the University of Rochester. Beginning on July 1, 1975, he will have a joint appointment in economics and history at Harvard University, although he will be on leave during the academic year 1975-76, serving as the Pitt Professor of American Institutions and History at Cambridge University. His most recent publication, coauthored with Stanley L. Engerman, is "Philanthropy at Bargain Prices: Notes on the Economics of Gradual Emancipation," which appeared in the June 1974 issue of the *Journal of Legal Studies*.

CHARLOTTE ERICKSON is reader in economic history in the University of London and teaches at the London School of Economics. She took her doctorate at Cornell University where Professor Paul W. Gates was her supervisor. Her most recent book is *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scots Immigrants in the U.S.A. in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1972). She is currently working on the relationship between emigration, internal migration, and social unrest in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century.

---

## Contents

VOLUME 80 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1975

---

### Article

The Limits of Quantitative Methods in History,

BY ROBERT WILLIAM FOGEL

329

### Review Article

Quantitative History, BY CHARLOTTE ERICKSON

351

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE. *Quantification in History*

LEE BENSON. *Toward the Scientific Study of History: Selected Essays*

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE *et al.* *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*. Ed. by WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE, ALLAN G. BOGUE, and ROBERT W. FOGEL

VAL R. LORWIN and JACOB M. PRICE, eds. *The Dimensions of the Past: Materials, Problems, and Opportunities for Quantitative Work in History*

E. A. WRIGLEY, ed. *Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data*

## Reviews of Books

## GENERAL

- GÉZA ALFÖLDY *et al.*, eds. *Probleme der Geschichtswissenschaft*. By Michael P. Speidel 366
- EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE. *Le territoire de l'historien*. By Franklin L. Ford 366
- ARTHUR RAISTRICK. *Industrial Archaeology: An Historical Survey*. By Robert E. Carlson 367
- MARCELLE KOOY, ed. *Studies in Economics and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Professor H. M. Robertson*. By J. E. Butler 368
- EDUARD VAN DEN BRINK. *Rooms of katholiek: De opvattingen van Christopher Dawson over kultuur en religie*. By Stephen B. Baxter 369
- G. J. CUMING and DEREK BAKER, eds. *Popular Belief and Practice: Papers Read at the Ninth Summer Meeting and the Tenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. By H. Boone Porter, Jr. 369
- ROGER BASTIDE. *African Civilisation in the New World*. Tr. by PETER GREEN. By William L. Bowers 370
- M. R. D. FOOT. *War and Society: Historical Essays in Honour and Memory of J. R. Western, 1928-1971*. By George O. Kent 370
- RAM LAKHAN SHUKLA. *Britain, India and the Turkish Empire, 1853-1882*. By Gail Minault 371
- R. V. SAMPSON. *The Discovery of Peace*. By Sandi E. Cooper 372
- CHARLES P. KINDLEBERGER. *The World in Depression, 1929-1939*. By Martin Wolfe 372
- DAVID W. WAINHOUSE. *International Peacekeeping at the Crossroads: National Support—Experience and Prospects*. By Ruhl J. Bartlett 373
- ANDREW W. CORDIER and WILDER FOOTE, eds. *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations*. Vol. 3, *Dag Hammarskjöld, 1956-1957*. By William Epstein 373

## ANCIENT

- V. M. MASSON and V. I. SARIANIDI. *Central Asia: Turkmenia before the Achaemenids*. Tr. and ed. by RUTH TRINGHAM. By Louis D. Levine 375
- RALPH S. SOLECKI. *Shanidar: The First Flower People*. By T. Cuyler Young, Jr. 375
- ANGEL CABO and MARCELO VIGIL. *Condicionamientos geográficos; Edad antigua*. By C. J. Bishko 376
- CLAUDE MOSSÉ. *Athens in Decline, 505-86 B.C.* Tr. by JEAN STEWART. By Truesdell S. Brown 377
- PHILIP A. STADTER, ed. *The Speeches in Thucydides: A Collection of Original Studies with a Bibliography*. By Chester G. Starr 377
- PIERRE BRIANT. *Antigone le Borgne: Les débuts de sa*

*carrière et les problèmes de l'assemblée macédonienne*. By Glanville Downey 378

ALAN CAMERON. *Porphyrius the Charioteer*. By Thomas W. Africa 378

## MIEVEAL

- ROBERT DELORT. *Life in the Middle Ages*. Tr. by ROBERT ALLEN. By Joseph Dahmus 379
- JOHN T. MCNEILL. *The Celtic Churches: A History, A.D. 200 to 1200*. By Jeffrey B. Russell 379
- GEOFFREY ASHE. *Camelot and the Vision of Albion*; RICHARD BARBER. *The Figure of Arthur*. By Donald A. White 380
- A. CAMPBELL, ed. *Charters of Rochester*. By Ralph V. Turner 381
- HANNA VOLLRATH-REICHELT. *Königsgedanke und Königtum bei den Angelsachsen: Bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*. By William A. Chaney 381
- V. PAŠUTA. *Lietuvos valstybės susidarymas* [The Formation of the Lithuanian State]. By Benedict V. Maciuika 382
- M. H. KEEN. *England in the Later Middle Ages: A Political History*. By Kenneth G. Madison 383
- HELENA M. CHEW and WILLIAM KELLAWAY, eds. *London Assize of Nuisance, 1301-1431*. By Margaret Hastings 384
- ROBERT CHAZAN. *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History*. By Joseph R. Strayer 385
- JOHN HOLLAND SMITH. *Joan of Arc*. By Fredric L. Cheyette 385
- LOUIS B. PASCOE, S. J. *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*. By Roy M. Haines 386
- PAUL JOHANSEN and HEINZ VON ZUR MÜHLEN. *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval*. By Peep Peter Rebane 386
- ERNST BOCK, ed. *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I.* Vol. 3, 1488-1490. In 2 pts. By Steven W. Rowan 387
- JUAN CARRASCO PÉREZ. *La población de Navarra en el siglo XIV*. By Bernard F. Reilly 388
- EDWARD A. ARMSTRONG. *Saint Francis: Nature Mystic. The Derivation and Significance of the Nature Stories in the Franciscan Legend*. By Rosiland B. Brooke 388
- V. D. KOROLIUK *et al.*, eds. *Issledovaniia po istorii slavianskikh i balkanskikh narodov. Epokha srednevekov'ia. Kievskaiia Rus' i ee slavianskie sosedi* [Studies in the History of the Slavic and Balkan Nations. Era of the Middle Ages. Kievan Rus' and Its Slavic Neighbors]. By Imre Boba 389
- APOSTOLOS ATH. GLAVINAS. *Hē epi Alexiou Komnēnou (1081-1118) peri hierōn, skeuōn, keimēliōn kai agiōn eikonōn eris (1081-1095)* [The Controversy

- during the Reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) over Sacred Vessels, Gems, and Holy Pictures (1081-1095)]. By Pierre A. MacKay 390
- J. OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN. *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture*. Ed. by MAX KNIGHT. By Duncan Fishwick 390
- FRANZ GEORG MAIER. *Byzanz*. By John N. Frary 391
- NICÉTAS MAGISTROS. *Lettres d'un exilé (928-946)*. Ed. and tr. by L. G. WESTERINK. By Walter Emil Kaegi, Jr. 392
- Travaux et mémoires*. Vol. 5. By George J. Marcopoulos 393
- MODERN EUROPE**
- LOUISE CUYLER. *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*. By Denis Stevens 394
- HANS J. HILLERBRAND. *The World of the Reformation*. By Harold J. Grimm 394
- SALO WITTMAYER BARON. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion, 1200-1650*. Vol. 15, *Resettlement and Exploration*. By Richard H. Popkin 395
- ALAN G. R. SMITH. *Science and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. By Glen R. Driscoll 397
- HOWELL A. LLOYD. *The Rouen Campaign, 1590-1592: Politics, Warfare and the Early-Modern State*. By Herbert H. Rowen 398
- LUZI SCHUCAN. *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus "ad adolescentes": Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus*. By John P. Cavaros 398
- WOLFGANG MÜLLER et al. *Die Kirche im Zeitalter des Absolutismus und der Aufklärung*. By William J. Bouwsma 399
- KARL F. HEILEINER. *Free Trade and Frustration: Anglo-Austrian Negotiations, 1860-70*. By Edith M. Link 400
- KEITH MALLORY and ARVID OTTAR. *The Architecture of War*. By B. Franklin Cooling 400
- OSWALD HAUSER. *England und das Dritte Reich: Eine dokumentierte Geschichte der englisch-deutschen Beziehungen von 1933 bis 1939, auf Grundunveröffentlichter Akten aus dem britischen Staatsarchiv*. Vol. 1. By A. J. Sherman 401
- E. E. RICH, ed. *St Catharine's College, Cambridge, 1473-1973: A Volume of Essays to Commemorate the Quincentenary of the Foundation of the College*. By Sheldon Rothblatt 402
- A. P. MCGOWAN, ed. *The Jacobean Commissions of Enquiry, 1608 and 1618*. By Clive Holmes 402
- ANTONIA FRASER. *Cromwell: The Lord Protector*. By Maurice Lee, Jr. 403
- GERALD M. and LOIS O. STRAKA. *A Certainty in the Succession*. By Ian R. Christie 404
- ANTHONY ARMSTRONG. *The Church of England, the Methodists and Society, 1700-1850*. By James Obelkevich 405
- R. F. BRISSENDEN, ed. *Studies in the Eighteenth Century*. Vol. 2, *Papers Presented at the Second David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, Canberra, 1970*. By John H. Middendorf 405
- NEIL R. STOUT. *The Royal Navy in America, 1760-1775: A Study of Enforcement of British Colonial Policy in the Era of the American Revolution*. By Carl Ubbelohde 406
- DOROTHY MARSHALL. *Industrial England, 1776-1851*. By Thomas Milton Kemnitz 406
- ELEANOR FLEXNER. *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography*. By Lee Holcombe 407
- F. L. VAN HOLTHOON. *The Road to Utopia: A Study of John Stuart Mill's Social Thought*. By Gertrude Himmelfarb 407
- R. J. OLNEY. *Lincolnshire Politics, 1832-1885*. By David Spring 408
- L. F. TUPOLEVA. *Sotsialisticheskoe dvizhenie v Anglii v 80-e gody XIX veka* [The Socialist Movement in England in the 1880s]. By Paul B. Johnson 409
- FRANK MILLER TURNER. *Between Science and Religion: The Reaction to Scientific Naturalism in Late Victorian England*. By W. F. Cannon 409
- EDWARD SCOBIE. *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain*. By Robin W. Winks 410
- A. K. RUSSELL. *Liberal Landslide: The General Election of 1906*. By Trevor Lloyd 410
- L. P. CARPENTER. *G. D. H. Cole: An Intellectual Biography*. By P. F. Clarke 411
- A. J. SHERMAN. *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933-1939*. By George L. Mosse 412
- W. N. MEDLICOTT et al., eds. *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*. 2d ser. Vol. 13, *Naval Policy and Defence Requirements, July 20, 1934-March 25, 1936*. By Christopher Thorne 412
- SIR LLEWELLYN WOODWARD. *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War*. Vol. 3. By Matthew A. Fitzsimons 414
- F. X. MARTIN and F. J. BYRNE, eds. *The Scholar Revolutionary: Eoin MacNeill, 1867-1945, and the Making of the New Ireland*. By Joseph M. Curran 414
- PIERRE ROCOLLE. *2000 ans de fortification française*. Vols. 1, 2. By Horst de la Croix 415
- YVES CAZAUX. *Jeanne d'Albret*. By Raymond F. Kierstead 416
- JULIAN DENT. *Crisis in Finance: Crown, Financiers and Society in Seventeenth-Century France*. By Leon Bernard 416
- G. R. R. TREASURE. *Cardinal Richelieu and the Development of Absolutism*; JEAN-LOUIS THIREAU. *Les idées politiques de Louis XIV*. By Orest Ranum 417
- PAUL W. BAMFORD. *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The*



- Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV.* By Robert M. Isherwood 417
- J. Q. C. MACKRELL. *The Attack on 'Feudalism' in Eighteenth-Century France.* By Orville T. Murphy 418
- MARK POSTER. *The Utopian Thought of Restif de la Bretonne.* By J. Robert Vignery 419
- SHIRLEY M. GRUNER. *Economic Materialism and Social Moralism: A Study of the History of Ideas in France from the Latter Part of the 18th Century to the Middle of the 19th Century.* By A. Lloyd Moote 419
- STEVEN T. ROSS. *Quest for Victory: French Military Strategy 1792-1799.* By Gordon H. McNeil 420
- ÉPHRAÏM HARPAZ, ed. *Benjamin Constant et Goyet de la Sarthe: Correspondance, 1818-1822.* By Alexander Sedgwick 420
- Histoire de l'administration;* ALBERT MABILEAU, ed. *Les facteurs locaux de la vie politique nationale.* By E. W. Fox 421
- THEODORE ZELDIN. *France 1848-1945. Vol. 1, Ambition, Love and Politics.* By Gordon Wright 422
- J. P. T. BURY. *Gambetta and the Making of the Third Republic.* By Raymond F. Betts 423
- FERNAND GAMBIEZ. *Libération de la Corse.* By Jere Clemens King 423
- FINN GAD. *The History of Greenland. Vol. 2.* By Archibald R. Lewis 424
- A. P. LAIDINEN. *Ocherki istorii Finliandii vtoroi poloviny XVIII v. [Essays on the History of Finland in the Second Half of the 18th Century].* By John H. Hodgson 425
- KEIJO ELIO. *Otto Kaarle von Fieandt—Suomalainen upseerikoulutaja [Otto Kaarle von Fieandt—Finnish Officer Trainer].* By John I. Kolehmainen 425
- MICHAEL NEUMÜLLER. *Liberalismus und Revolution: Das Problem der Revolution in der deutschen liberalen Geschichtsschreibung des 19. Jahrhunderts.* By Charles E. McClelland 426
- ADAM WANDRUSZKA and PETER URBANITSCH, eds. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Vol. 1, Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung,* ed. by ALOIS BRUSATTI. By Robert A. Kann 426
- WERNER KAEGLI. *Jacob Burckhardt: Eine Biographie. Vol. 5, Das neuere Europa und das Erlebnis der Gegenwart.* By Felix Wassermann 428
- NICHOLAS MARTIN HOPE. *The Alternative to German Unification: The Anti-Prussian Party, Frankfurt, Nassau, and the Two Hesses, 1859-1867.* By John W. Cranston 428
- WALTER STRUVE. *Elites against Democracy: Leadership Ideals in Bourgeois Political Thought in Germany, 1890-1933.* By Andreas Dorpalen 429
- SEBASTIAN HAFNER. *Failure of a Revolution: Germany 1918-19.* Tr. by GEORG RAPP. By Lewis D. Wurgift 430
- RALF-RAINER LAVIES. *Nichtwählen als Kategorie des Wahlverhaltens: Empirische Untersuchung zur Wahlenthaltung in historischer, politischer und statistischer Sicht;* HERBERT KÜHR. *Parteien und Wahlen im Stadt- und Landkreis Essen in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses von Sozialstruktur und politischen Wahlen.* By Allan Mitchell 430
- KARL HOLL and ADOLF WILD, eds. *Ein Demokrat kommentiert Weimar: Die Berichte Hellmut von Gerlachs an die Carnegie-Friedensstiftung in New York, 1922-1930.* By George W. F. Hallgarten 431
- KLAUS HILDEBRAND. *The Foreign Policy of the Third Reich.* Tr. by ANTHONY FOTHERGILL. By Marshall M. Lee 432
- MARTIN L. VAN CREVELD. *Hitler's Strategy, 1940-1941: The Balkan Clue.* By Alexander Dallin 432
- WINFRIED SCHULZE. *Landesdefension und Staatsbildung: Studien zum Kriegswesen des innerösterreichischen Territorialstaates (1564-1619).* By Gordon A. Craig 433
- HORST BRETTNER-MESSLER, ed. *Die Protokolle des österreichischen Ministerrates, 1848-1867. Pt. 6. Vol. 2.* By Richard B. Elrod 434
- B. N. FLORIA. *Russko-pol'skie otnosheniia i baltiiskii vopros v kontse XVI-nachale XVII v. [Russian-Polish Relations and the Baltic Question at the End of the 16th and the Beginning of the 17th Century].* By Robert O. Crummey 434
- ATHANASIOS A. ANGELOPOULOS. *Hai zenai propagandai eis tēn eparchian Poluanēs kata tēn periodon 1870-1912 [Foreign Propaganda in the Province of Poluane, 1870-1912].* By George D. Frangos 435
- PATRICIA KENNEDY GRIMSTED. *Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR: Moscow and Leningrad.* By John Keep 436
- Recent Studies in Modern Armenian History.* By Vartan H. Artinian 436
- J. G. GARRARD, ed. *The Eighteenth Century in Russia.* By John T. Alexander 437
- MARC VUILLEUMIER et al., eds. *Around d'Alexandre Herzen: Documents inédits.* By Abbott Gleason 438
- ALLEN SINEL. *The Classroom and the Chancellery: State Educational Reform in Russia under Count Dmitry Tolstoi.* By Linda Gerstein 439
- M. G. VANDALKOVSKAIA. *M. K. Lemke—Istoriik russkogo revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia [M. K. Lemke—Historian of the Russian Revolutionary Movement];* V. S. VASIUKOV, ed. *Kritika burzhuanoi istoriografii sovetskogo obshchestva [A Critique of the Bourgeois Historiography of Soviet Society].* By Robert C. Williams 440
- STEPHEN F. COHEN. *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888-1938.* By Adam B. Ulam 440
- NICOLAS DE BASILY. *Diplomat of Imperial Russia, 1903-1917: Memoirs.* By Barbara Jelavich 441
- ALFRED LEVIN. *The Third Duma, Election and Profile.* By Stephan M. Horak 442
- C. VAUGHAN JAMES. *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory.* By Roy D. Laird 443

- P. A. ZHILIN *et al.*, eds. *Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sovremennost'* [The Second World War and the Present]. By John A. Armstrong 443

## NEAR EAST

- ARTHUR RUPPIN. *Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*. Ed. by ALEX BEIN. Tr. by KAREN GERSHON. By Ellis Rivkin 444
- JACQUES THOBIE. *Phares ottomans et emprunts turcs, 1904-1961: Un type de règlement financier international dans le cadre des traités*. By Roderic H. Davison 445
- MICHAEL LLEWELLYN SMITH. *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922*. By John A. Nicolopoulos 445

## AFRICA

- DOUGLAS FRASER and HERBERT M. COLE, eds. *African Art & Leadership*. By K. David Patterson 446
- VIRGINIA THOMPSON. *West Africa's Council of the Entente*. By Henry S. Wilson 447
- A. G. HOPKINS. *An Economic History of West Africa*. By George E. Brooks 447
- NEHEMIA LEVTZION. *Ancient Ghana and Mali*. By Brian M. Fagan 448
- FRANÇOIS RENAULT. *Lavigerie, l'esclavage africain et l'Europe, 1808-1892*. Vols. 1, 2. By J. R. Hooker 449
- VICTOR T. LE VINE. *The Cameroon Federal Republic*. By Frederick Quinn 450
- MARCIA WRIGHT. *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*. By Robert W. Strayer 451
- SAMUEL G. AYANY. *A History of Zanzibar: A Study in Constitutional Development, 1934-1964*. By Norman Robert Bennett 451
- PETER M. GUKIINA. *Uganda: A Case Study in African Political Development*. By J. E. Lamphear 452
- ROBERT C. GOOD. *U.D.I.: The International Politics of the Rhodesian Rebellion*. By L. H. Gann 453
- RICHARD GIBSON. *African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles against White Minority Rule*. By Gwendolen M. Carter 454
- ERIC AXELSON. *Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600*. By Francis M. Rogers 455
- EDWARD C. TABLER. *Pioneers of South West Africa and Namaland, 1738-1880*. By Leslie Clement Duly 456
- PETER WALSHF. *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952*; MONICA WILSON and LEONARD THOMPSON, eds. *The Oxford History of South Africa*. Vol. 2. By Harrison M. Wright 456

## ASIA AND THE EAST

- KENNETH K. S. CH'EN. *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*. By E. G. Pulleyblank 457

- ARTHUR F. WRIGHT and DENIS TWITCHETT, eds. *Perspectives on the T'ang*. By Lien-sheng Yang 458

JOSEPH NEEDHAM. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Vol. 4, *Physics and Physical Technology*. Pt. 3, *Civil Engineering and Nautics*. By Kan Lao 459

MICHEL CARTIER. *Une réforme locale en Chine au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Hai Rui à Chun'an, 1558-1562*. By James B. Parsons 461

EDWARD V. GULICK. *Peter Parker and the Opening of China*. By Paul A. Varg 461

RICHARD C. THORNTON. *China, the Struggle for Power 1917-1972*. By John L. Rawlinson 462

JOHN HUNTER BOYLE. *China and Japan at War, 1937-1945: The Politics of Collaboration*; GERALD E. BUNKER. *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ching-wei and the China War, 1937-1941*. By Frank N. Trager 462

HELEN FOSTER SNOW (NYM WALES). *The Chinese Communists: Sketches and Autobiographies of the Old Guard*. Bks. 1, 2; JACQUES GUILLERMAZ. *A History of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921-1949*. Tr. by ANNE DESTENAY; PETER R. MOODY, JR. *The Politics of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*. By Pierre M. Perrolle 464

JOYCE C. LEBRA. *Ōkuma Shigenobu: Statesman of Meiji Japan*. By Edwin B. Lee 465

HENRY DEWITT SMITH, II. *Japan's First Student Radicals*. By Francis L. K. Hsu. 466

BENJAMIN C. DUKE. *Japan's Militant Teachers: A History of the Left-Wing Teachers' Movement*; DONALD R. THURSTON. *Teachers and Politics in Japan*. By Jackson H. Bailey 467

S. R. RAO. *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*. By Kenneth A. R. Kennedy 468

MAURICE HENNESSY. *The Rajah from Tipperary*. By Edward B. Jones 469

B. G. GAFUROV. *Tadzhiki: Drevneishaia, drevniaia i srednevekoviaia istoriia* [Tadjiks: Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval History]. By Richard N. Frye 469

HAFAEZ MALIK, ed. *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*. By Walter Hauser 470

GERD LINDE. *Burma 1943 und 1944: Die Expeditionen Orde C. Wingates*. By Justus M. Van Der Kroef 470

PETER BOLGER. *Hobart Town*. By A. Stanley Trickett 471

BEDE NAIRN. *Civilising Capitalism: The Labor Movement in New South Wales, 1870-1900*. By Samuel Clyde McCulloch 472

## UNITED STATES

EDWARD A. PURCELL, JR. *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism & the Problem of Value*. By Jay Mechling 473

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT and RICHARD L. WATSON, JR., eds. *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture*; TIMOTHY PAUL DONOVAN. *Historical Thought*

- in America: Postwar Patterns; GENE WISE. *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry*. By David A. Hollinger 474
- EDWIN T. LAYTON, JR. *The Revolt of the Engineers: Social Responsibility and the American Engineering Profession*. By Kendall Birr 476
- MARY C. HENDERSON. *The City and the Theatre: New York Playhouses from Bowling Green to Times Square*. By Henry Hope Reed 476
- WILLIAM T. GENEROUS, JR. *Swords and Scales: The Development of the Uniform Code of Military Justice*. By Charles A. Leonard 477
- G. ROBERT KEMBLE. *The Image of the Army Officer in America: Background for Current Views*. By I. B. Holley, Jr. 478
- ROBERT C. NESBIT. *Wisconsin: A History*. By Frederick I. Olson 478
- ROBERT F. HEIZER and ALAN J. ALMQUIST. *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920*; RICHARD B. CRAIG. *The Bracero Program: Interest Groups and Foreign Policy*; RODOLFO ACUÑA. *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle toward Liberation*. By J. Joseph Huthmacher 479
- ALDEN T. VAUGHAN and GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS, eds. *Perspectives on Early American History: Essays in Honor of Richard B. Morris*. By Marvin R. Zahniser 481
- GEORGE L. SMITH. *Religion and Trade in New Netherland: Dutch Origins and American Development*. By Michael G. Hall 481
- HUGH T. LEFLER and WILLIAM S. POWELL. *Colonial North Carolina: A History*. By Edward S. Perzel 482
- ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON. *Presbyterians in the South*. Vols. 1-3. By Lefferts A. Loetscher 483
- MELVIN B. ENDY, JR. *William Penn and Early Quakerism*. By Michael McGiffert 483
- The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*. Vols. 1, 2. Ed. by M. HALSEY THOMAS. By Sheldon S. Cohen 484
- JACOB JUDD and IRWIN H. POLISHOOK, eds. *Aspects of Early New York Society and Politics*. By John F. Roche 485
- RICHARD WARCH. *School of the Prophets: Yale College, 1701-1740*. By George F. Frick 485
- STEPHEN E. PATTERSON. *Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts*. By Harry M. Ward 486
- ROBERT MCCLUER CALHOON. *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781*. By Beatrice K. Hofstadter 487
- K. G. DAVIES, ed. *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783 (Colonial Office Series)*. Vols. 1-3. By Paul H. Smith 488
- NORTH CALLAHAN. *George Washington: Soldier and Man*; RICHARD B. MORRIS. *Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny: The Founding Fathers as Revolutionaries*. By Lawrence H. Leder 489
- HUGH F. RANKIN. *Francis Marion: The Swamp Fox*. By Harry L. Coles 489
- L. H. BUTTERFIELD and MARC FRIEDLAENDER, eds. *Adams Family Correspondence*. Vols. 3, 4. By Edmund S. Morgan 490
- FREDERICK W. MARKS III. *Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution*. By Jerald A. Combs 491
- ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., gen. ed. *History of U.S. Political Parties*. Vols. 1-4. By J. Rogers Hollingsworth 492
- ALLAN R. PRED. *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840*. By Thomas C. Cochran 494
- HAROLD C. SYRETT et al., eds. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*. Vols. 18, 19. By Manning J. Dauer 495
- JOHN A. MUNROE. *Louis McLane: Federalist and Jacksonian*. By Charles M. Wiltse 496
- SARAH MCCULLOH LEMMON. *Frustrated Patriots: North Carolina and the War of 1812*. By Hugh F. Rankin 496
- ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN. *Stephen A. Douglas*. By Frank Otto Gatell 497
- JULIA FLOYD SMITH. *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860*. By William K. Scarborough 497
- EDWARD PESSEN. *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War*. By Wayne Andrews 498
- CLIFFORD M. DRURY. *Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the Opening of Old Oregon*. In 2 vols. By Robert L. Whitner 499
- JANE SHAFFER ELSMERE. *Henry Ward Beecher: The Indiana Years, 1837-1847*. By Donald M. Scott 499
- JOHN H. SCHROEDER. *Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846-1848*. By Lewis Perry 500
- STUART BRUCE KAUFMAN. *Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848-1896*. By Louis L. Athey 500
- WILLIAM C. WRIGHT. *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States*. By George T. McJimsey 501
- MARILYN MCADAMS SIBLEY. *George W. Brackenridge: Maverick Philanthropist*. By William Curtis Nunn 502
- SAUL SIGELSCHEFFER. *The American Conscience: The Drama of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates*. By Robert W. Johannsen 502
- WILLIAM E. PARRISH. *A History of Missouri*. Vol. 3. By Rodney C. Loehr 503
- JOHN W. BLASSINGAME. *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880*. By Neil R. McMillen 504
- G. R. TREDWAY. *Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana*. By David Lindsey 504
- JOHN NIVEN. *Gideon Welles: Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy*. By William James Morgan 505
- THOMAS LAWRENCE CONNELLY and ARCHER JONES. *The*

- Politics of Command: Factions and Ideas in Confederate Strategy.* By Robert Hartje 506
- JAMES A. WARD. *That Man Haupt: A Biography of Herman Haupt.* By Albro Martin 507
- ERNEST N. PAOLINO. *The Foundations of the American Empire: William Henry Seward and U.S. Foreign Policy.* By Harold M. Hyman 508
- LOUIS S. GERTEIS. *From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy toward Southern Blacks, 1861-1865.* By Alwyn Barr 509
- MILTON LOMASK. *Andrew Johnson: President on Trial.* By Constance McLaughlin Green 509
- PEGGY LAMSON. *The Glorious Failure: Black Congressman Robert Brown Elliott and the Reconstruction in South Carolina.* By Joseph Boskin 510
- TOM E. TERRILL. *The Tariff, Politics, and American Foreign Policy, 1874-1901.* By David Healy 511
- KENNETH J. HAGAN. *American Gunboat Diplomacy and the Old Navy, 1877-1889.* By Benjamin F. Gilbert 511
- HERBERT APTHEKER, ed. *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois.* Vol. 1. By Nathan Irvin Huggins 512
- CARTER E. BOREN et al. *Essays on the Gilded Age.* Ed. by MARGARET FRANCINE MORRIS. By J. Perry Leavell, Jr. 513
- STEPHAN TERNSTROM. *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1860-1970.* By Kenneth T. Jackson 513
- WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR. *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association: Federal Regulation and the Cattleman's Last Frontier.* By W. Eugene Hollon 514
- D. JEROME TWETON. *The Marquis de Morès: Dakota Capitalist, French Nationalist.* By James E. Hendrickson 515
- SALVATORE PRISCO III. *John Barrett, Progressive Era Diplomat: A Study of a Commercial Expansionist, 1887-1920.* By Samuel F. Wells, Jr. 515
- JOHN S. GOFF. *George W. P. Hunt and His Arizona.* By Larry D. Ball 516
- JUNE SOCHEN. *Movers and Shakers: American Women Thinkers and Activists, 1900-1970.* By Janet Wilson James 516
- LAURENCE VEYSEY. *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Counter-Cultures in America.* By Thomas R. West 517
- EUGENE LEVY. *James Weldon Johnson: Black Leader, Black Voice.* By William M. Tuttle, Jr. 518
- THOMAS D. CLARK. *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer.* Vol. 2, *In Mid-Passage.* By Merle Curti 518
- JOHN D. BUENKER. *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform.* By Bruce M. Stave 519
- LAWRENCE R. GUSTIN. *Billy Durant: Creator of General Motors.* By James J. Flink 520
- JOHN L. NETHERS. *Simeon D. Fess: Educator & Politician.* By Lawrence L. Murray 520
- RICHARD FITZGERALD. *Art and Politics: Cartoonists of the Masses and Liberator.* By Louis Filler 521
- JERVIS ANDERSON. *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait.* By Eugene Levy 522
- ROBERT G. WEISBORD. *Ebony Kinship: Africa, Africans, and the Afro-American.* By Michael R. Winston 523
- WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH. *Lawyer's Lawyer: The Life of John W. Davis.* By Samuel B. Hand 523
- ABRAHAM HOFFMAN. *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939.* By Roger Daniels 524
- MARTIN DUBERMAN. *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community.* By F. Garvin Davenport, Sr. 524
- RICHARD DYER MACCANN. *The People's Films: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures.* By Frederick D. Jackes 525
- FRANK FREIDEL. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: Launching the New Deal.* By William E. Leuchtenburg 526
- RICHARD D. MCKINZIE. *The New Deal for Artists; FRANCIS V. O'CONNOR, ed. Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by Artists and Administrators of the WPA Federal Art Project.* By Garnett McCoy 527
- WILLIAM STOTT. *Documentary Expression and Thirties America.* By Garth S. Jowett 528
- ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR. *The Imperial Presidency.* By Richard S. Kirkendall 529
- IRWIN F. GELLMAN. *Roosevelt and Batista: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Cuba, 1933-1945.* By William Kamman 530
- VLADIMIR PETROV. *A Study in Diplomacy: The Story of Arthur Bliss Lane; RUSSELL H. FIFIELD. Americans in Southeast Asia: The Roots of Commitment.* By Armin Rappaport 530
- PAUL A. VARG. *The Closing of the Door: Sino-American Relations, 1936-1946; JOHN M. ALLISON. Ambassador from the Prairie: Or Allison Wonderland.* By James M. McCutcheon 532
- GEORGE C. HERRING, JR. *Aid to Russia, 1941-1946: Strategy, Diplomacy, the Origins of the Cold War.* By Thomas G. Paterson 533
- RICHARD W. STEELE. *The First Offensive, 1942: Roosevelt, Marshall and the Making of American Strategy.* By D. Clayton James 534
- PETER CLECAK. *Radical Paradoxes: Dilemmas of the American Left: 1945-1970.* By Ann J. Lane 534
- ROBERT A. PACKENHAM. *Liberal America and the Third World: Political Development Ideas in Foreign Aid and Social Science.* By John G. Sproat 535
- LEONARD GREENBAUM. *A Special Interest: The Atomic Energy Commission, Argonne National Laboratory, and the Midwestern Universities.* By Eugene S. Ferguson 536

RICHARD F. HAYNES. *The Awesome Power: Harry S. Truman as Commander in Chief.*  
By George E. Hopkins 537

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948. Vol. 9, The Western Hemisphere.*  
By Russell H. Bostert 537

ELMO RICHARDSON. *Dams, Parks & Politics: Resources Development & Preservation in the Truman-Eisenhower Era.* By Roderick Nash 538

TOWNSEND HOOPES. *The Devil and John Foster Dulles.* By Ronald W. Pruessen 539

STEPHEN R. WEISSMAN. *American Foreign Policy in the Congo, 1960-1964.* By Vernon McKay 540

ANATOLII ANDREIEVICH GROMYKO. *Through Russian Eyes: President Kennedy's 1036 Days.*  
By E. Berkeley Tompkins 540

G. POPE ATKINS and LARMAN C. WILSON. *The United States and the Trujillo Regime*; ABRAHAM F. LOWENTHAL. *The Dominican Intervention.*  
By L. Lejeune Cummins 541

JOSEPH M. SIRACUSA. *New Left Diplomatic Histories and Historians: The American Revisionists.*  
By Martin J. Sherwin 542

## CANADA

JOHN L. FINLAY. *Social Credit: The English Origins.*  
By Richard A. Preston 543

## LATIN AMERICA

STUART B. SCHWARTZ. *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil: The High Court of Bahia and Its Judges, 1609-1751.* By C. R. Boxer 544

D. C. M. PLATT. *Latin America and British Trade, 1806-1914.* By William Paul McGreevey 544

JOHN LYNCH. *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826.* By John P. Hoover 545

RONNIE C. TYLER. *Santiago Vidaurri and the Southern Confederacy.* By David M. Pletcher 546

DAVID RONEFELDT. *Atencingo: The Politics of Agrarian Struggle in a Mexican Ejido.*  
By Charles R. Berry 546

ROBERT JONES SHAFER. *Mexican Business Organizations: History and Analysis*; ROBERT W. RANDALL. *Real del Monte: A British Mining Venture in Mexico.*  
By Marvin D. Bernstein 547

Communications 549

Recent Deaths 551

Festschriften and Miscellanies 554

Other Books Received 556

Index of Advertisers 50(a)



---

# The Limits of Quantitative Methods in History

---

ROBERT WILLIAM FOGEL

THIS ARTICLE DEALS with seven questions: should quantitative methods be used in history? what is the status of the effort to apply quantitative methods to history? what kinds of quantitative methods should be used in history? will the use of quantitative methods make history scientific? to what kinds of issues should quantitative methods be applied? what role should quantitative methods play in the graduate training of history students? and what can be done to overcome the problem in communication created by the intrusion of explicit quantitative methods into historical literature?

FIRST, SHOULD QUANTITATIVE METHODS be used in history? In one respect I find it surprising that there is still an active debate on this question, for the implicit premise of the question is false. The question presumes that we have a choice as to whether or not we will use quantitative methods in history. I would argue that given the interests and objectives of historians such a choice does not really exist. It can be demonstrated that many of the most important questions which concern historians involve quantification in an essential way.

For example, historians are concerned not only with Andrew Jackson's attitude toward the Second Bank of the United States but with the effect of his attitudes and policies on the price level, on employment, and on

This paper was prepared for presentation at the Conference on Mathematics in the Social Sciences, convened at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, April 21-23, 1974. Earlier versions were presented at the Conference on Quantitative Methods in History, sponsored by the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, on May 9, 1970; at the Institute on Humanistic Inquiry, held at the University of Chicago during January 19-23, 1972; and at the Historisk Institutt of the Universitet i Oslo on March 26, 1973. Parts of the answers to the first and third questions are derived from two of my previous essays: *Railroads and American Economic Growth: Essays in Econometric History* (Baltimore, 1964), 241-42; and "Historiography and Retrospective Econometrics," *History and Theory*, 9 (1970): 252-55. I have benefited from comments and criticisms by Robert McC. Adams, Thomas B. Alexander, Allan G. Bogue, Jerome M. Clubb, David Herbert Donald, G. R. Elton, Stanley L. Engerman, John Hope Franklin, Richard B. Freeman, François Furet, Eugene D. Genovese, Phillip M. Hauser, David Herlihy, C. P. Kindleberger, Wassily W. Leontief, William N. Parker, Willie Lee Rose, Richard N. Rosett, Robert P. Swierenga, Charles Tilly, John T. Wilson, and C. Vann Woodward.

other things that have been connected with the boom and bust of the 1830s. Consequently historians are not content merely to describe Jackson's policies; they also want to assess the consequences of these policies. But such an assessment depends on the dimensions of the economic effects that followed from the policies. Obviously if the policies had only trivial consequences, that is, if they had hardly any effect on the rise in prices or the subsequent fall in production and employment, then we would have one attitude toward what Jackson believed and did. And we would have another attitude if we thought the effects were large.<sup>1</sup>

Why then is there still a debate about whether or not quantitative methods ought to be used in history? Because the pervasiveness of quantitative considerations in historical study is not fully appreciated, and because most often when historians engage in quantitative analysis they do so implicitly rather than explicitly. Mathematics has long been an intrinsic feature of historical analysis, but its use has been covert and subliminal. This is because many issues that turn crucially on quantitative dimensions are disguised by words; they are not apparent because they are put forward in words instead of in numbers or equations. I sometimes illustrate this proposition by challenging my students to choose a page at random from one or another book of economic history that is in their possession and to determine whether or not quantification enters implicitly in the discussion on that page. It does so in a surprisingly high percentage of cases. The following quotation was chosen, not at random, but because it illustrates how ingrained and pervasive implicit quantification can be. The quotation is from George Soule's *Economic Forces in American History*.

Regional concentration of industries and specialized crops, though dependent on many factors, could not have developed so fully without railroad transportation. New England could find national markets for its textiles and shoes. Pennsylvania, with its coal and easy access to iron, could concentrate on basic iron and steel, shipping the products wherever they might be wanted. Iowa could, with its specially adapted soils and climate, become a corn and hog country.<sup>2</sup>

Now this apparently qualitative description is permeated with implicit measurement. The "regional concentration" referred to in the first sentence can only be defined in quantitative terms; the phrase implies the existence of a measure of the spatial distribution of productive activity. The sentence as a whole implies that the difference between the cost of transportation by railroad and the next most favorable medium was of such a magnitude

<sup>1</sup> Recent research indicates that Jackson was more the victim of economic forces beyond his control than the prime agent in precipitating the boom and bust of the 1830s. See Peter Temin, *The Jacksonian Economy* (New York, 1969); and Hugh Rockoff, "Money, Prices, and Banks in the Jacksonian Era," in Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *The Reinterpretation of American Economic History* (New York, 1971), 448-58.

<sup>2</sup> George Soule, *Economic Forces in American History* (New York, 1952), 103.

that the absence of the railroad would have reduced regional concentration by a detectable, and therefore measurable, amount. Indeed the sentence implies that such a measurement has in fact been performed. The term "national market" in the second sentence, if it is to have anything but a trivial meaning, implies that the amount of shoes and cotton goods sold by various firms beyond some region specified as local was large relative to total output. The only significant economic interpretation of the phrase "easy access" (third sentence) is that the cost of obtaining iron in Pennsylvania was lower than in other designated areas. The statement that Pennsylvania *concentrated* on the production of basic iron and steel implies a system by which the amounts of the qualitatively different products of the state can be aggregated and against which the state's production of iron and steel products can be measured. Finally the statement that Iowa's soil and climate were "specially adapted" to corn production (fourth sentence) presumes the existence of a measurable relationship between corn yields on the one hand and rainfall, temperature, and various soil properties on the other.

My response to the first question, then, is that it is a waste of time to argue whether or not one ought to permit quantification in historical writing since it is not possible to exorcise this demon. The real question is how to use quantification to the best advantage.

When the question is posed in this manner, it becomes evident that rigid positions are untenable and must give way to flexible ones. It does not, for example, follow that because an argument presupposes the existence of equations the historian who employs it must necessarily impose the equations on his readers. Words and equations are alternate modes of expression, and which is preferable at a given point in a given essay is a problem of exposition involving esthetic as well as empirical and logical considerations. The best resolution of these often conflicting elements of historiographic literature will not only vary from essay to essay but even from point to point within the same essay.

NEXT, WHAT IS THE STATUS of the effort to apply quantitative methods to history? The movement for the systematic application of formal behavioral models and of the related mathematical and statistical methods to historical analysis is about two decades old. This type of work now has a firm foothold in the historical profession, both in the United States and abroad.

The mathematical approach has developed most rapidly within the field of economic history. The new economic history, also called cliometrics and econometric history, has become the predominant form of research in this field, at least in the United States. The majority of the articles published in the main economic history journals of the United States

are now quite mathematical, and cliometricians predominate in the leadership of the Economic History Association.<sup>3</sup>

The progress of the mathematical approach in the mainstream of history, while less rapid, has nevertheless been substantial.<sup>4</sup> There are research groups engaged in the application of mathematical methods to history in at least a dozen American universities. Several national committees have come into being to encourage the application of mathematical methods to history. In 1965 the Mathematical Social Science Board (MSSB) established a History Advisory Committee through which it has organized conferences and advanced research institutes on various subjects that represent the frontier of research by quantitative historians. In conjunction with Princeton University Press, MSSB is sponsoring a ten-volume series entitled *Studies in Quantitative History*. The opening volume lays stress on the scope of quantitative methods that are today being applied to history and the variety of issues to which these methods are germane. Each of the other volumes deals with a historical problem that has been the focus of considerable research by quantitative historians, bringing together the best of this work. Among titles in the MSSB-Princeton series are *Slavery and Race in the Western Hemisphere*, *The New Urban History*, "The History of Parliamentary Behavior," and "American Electoral History."

The American Historical Association has an *ad hoc* Committee on Quantitative Data in History that is concerned with the collection of quantitative information and its transcription into machine-readable form. The Inter-University Consortium for Political Research (ICPR) has established a Historical Data Archives that is collecting and putting into machine-readable form large quantities of political, economic, and social information for both the United States and France. ICPR also runs an annual summer training institute on mathematical methods for historians. During the past year the Social Science History Association has been incorporated. With an organizing committee of seventy and four hundred pledges of support, the first meeting of SSHA is tentatively scheduled for late 1975.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For assessments of the new economic history, see Thomas C. Cochran, "Economic History, Old and New," *AHR*, 74 (1968-69): 1561-72; Maurice Lévy-Leboyer, "La 'New Economic History,'" *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 24 (1969): 1035-69; John Habakkuk, "Economic History and Economic Theory," *Daedalus*, 100 (1971): 305-22; and Ralph W. Hidy, "The Road We Are Traveling," *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972): 3-14. Two collections of essays by new economic historians are Fogel and Engerman, *Reinterpretation of American Economic History*, and Peter Temin, ed., *The New Economic History* (Harmondsworth, 1973).

<sup>4</sup> Assessments of quantitative work in the mainstream of history include William O. Aydelotte, "Quantification in History," *AHR*, 71 (1965-66): 803-25; David S. Landes and Charles Tilly, eds., *History As Social Science* (Englewood Cliffs, 1971); and Robert P. Swierenga, "Computers and American History: The Impact of the 'New' Generation," *Journal of American History*, 60 (1974): 1045-70. Some notion of the range of quantitative work in history can be obtained from Don Karl Rowney and James Q. Graham, Jr., eds., *Quantitative History* (Homewood, 1969); Robert P. Swierenga, ed., *Quantification in American History* (New York, 1970); and William O. Aydelotte, Allan G. Bogue, and Robert W. Fogel, eds., *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History* (Princeton, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> The activities of MSSB are described in Charles Tilly, "A Report on the Work in Quantitative History by MSSB," mimeographed (Ann Arbor, 1974). The work of the *ad hoc* Committee

Two journals have been established to promote quantitative history—the *Historical Methods Newsletter* and the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. A third journal, sponsored by SSHA, will probably begin publication in 1976.

The effort to apply mathematical methods to history has also made substantial progress in Europe. The leading European country in this respect is France, where the relative investment of intellectual resources in quantitative history may be greater than in the United States. The French center for this work is the Sixth Section of the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*. There are several centers for the application of quantitative methods in England, the largest of which is located at Cambridge. Each of the Scandinavian countries has at least one historical institute that emphasizes quantitative methods. There are at least two institutes devoted to the application of mathematical methods to history in the Soviet Union.<sup>6</sup>

Despite various solid intellectual achievements, quantitative history is still confined to the edges of the historical discipline. This is not primarily because traditional historians are unwilling to recognize the accomplishments. While some traditionalists still sweep aside all quantitative work as nonsense, many acknowledge specific achievements. It is now widely agreed that one should, by all means, count where counting is possible and useful. There is, however, considerable skepticism about how much can be accomplished by formal mathematical techniques. The majority probably hold with Arthur Schlesinger, jr. that "almost all important questions are important precisely because they are *not* susceptible to quantitative answers."<sup>7</sup>

As yet the published record of quantitative historians does not provide the basis for refuting Schlesinger's assertion. Only in economic history have quantitative methods overturned the central propositions of the literature

---

on Quantitative Data in History is described in the annual reports of the American Historical Association; see especially the annual report for 1971, pages 134–37. The activities of ICPR are described in Jerome M. Clubb, "The Inter-University Consortium for Political Research: Progress and Prospects," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, June 1969, pp. 1–5; Clubb, "Historical Politics: American Elections, 1824–1970," *Items*, 25 (1971): 46–50; and Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, *A Guide to Resources and Services, 1973–1974* (Ann Arbor, 1974).

<sup>6</sup> Quantitative research in France is described in François Furet and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "L'historien et l'ordinateur: Compte-rendu provisoire d'enquête," *Rapport collectif présenté par le Centre de Recherches Historiques de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (Moscow, 1970). The scope of quantitative work in Great Britain is suggested in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972); Wrigley, ed., *Identifying People in the Past* (London, 1973); and Donald N. McCloskey, ed., *Essays on a Mature Economy: Britain after 1840* (London, 1971). Some aspects of quantitative research in the USSR are considered in J. Kahk and I. D. Kovalchenko, "Methodological Problems of Mathematical Methods Application in Historical Research" (recently published in *Historical Methods Newsletter*, June 1974, pp. 217–24), and L. V. Milov and K. V. Khovostova, "Quantitative Methods Applied by Soviet Historians to Agrarian History," both of which were presented at the International Conference on History and the Computer held in Uppsala, Sweden, June 24–30, 1973.

<sup>7</sup> Arthur Schlesinger, jr., "The Humanist Looks at Empirical Social Research," *American Sociological Review*, 27 (1962): 770, his italics.



and led on to far-reaching, new insights regarding the historical processes that were at work. But these achievements have had only limited significance to historians generally. Economic history is considered too special a field—narrow in the range of issues it embraces and highly focused on matters unusually well adapted to quantitative methods—for developments there to have great methodological relevance for the mainstream of history.

While the work of quantitative historians in political and social history has been closer to the central concerns of the discipline at large, the findings have seemed less compelling than in economic history. The new urban history, for example, has so far produced only a series of case studies. The analyses of social mobility in Newburyport, Philadelphia, and Boston are all quite interesting as local histories and in some respects highly suggestive.<sup>8</sup> Still, the general significance of the findings remains to be established, although an important step in this direction was taken in the final chapter of Stephan Thernstrom's *The Other Bostonians*.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, there have been some quite significant findings by the new political historians regarding the relative importance of economic class, religion, and ethnicity in popular voting behavior. But these, too, have tended to be focused on particular localities, and not enough localities have been studied as yet to produce warranted generalizations.<sup>10</sup>

Although the accomplishments of quantitative historians have not been great enough to quash skepticism among senior historians, they have nevertheless been enough to fire the imagination of many graduate students. The new urban history, the new social history, the new demographic history, and the new political history are all attracting young disciples. This has led to a growing demand for training in behavioral models and statistical methods.

Very few departments of history have as yet adequately accommodated their curriculums to this growing market. As a consequence, students interested in mathematical methods are left largely to their own devices. Some attempt to remedy the deficiency by taking courses in social-science departments, but frequently they find that these courses demand prerequisites they lack. Even if they have the prerequisites, the courses are rarely geared

<sup>8</sup> For assessments of the new urban history, see Stephan Thernstrom, "Reflections on the New Urban History," *Daedalus*, 100 (1971): 359-75; and Eric E. Lampard, "Two Cheers for Quantitative History: An Agnostic Foreword," in Leo F. Schnore, ed., *The New Urban History* (Princeton, 1975), 12-48; see also Samuel P. Hays, "A Systematic Social History," in George Athan Billias and Gerald N. Grob, eds., *American History: Retrospect and Prospect* (New York, 1971), 315-66.

<sup>9</sup> Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

<sup>10</sup> Recent appraisals of the new political history include Swierenga, "Computers and American History," 1052-55; Richard L. McCormick, "Ethno-Cultural Interpretations of Nineteenth-Century American Voting Behavior," *Political Science Quarterly*, 89 (1974): 351-77; and the introduction to William O. Aydelotte, ed., "The History of Parliamentary Behavior," mimeographed (1974).

to the specific needs of historians. Nor do these courses usually provide instruction in the art of applying behavioral models to history.

There are, however, reasons to believe that situation will change dramatically during the next ten years. One indication of a new situation is the recent award of the Bancroft Prize to Stephan Thernstrom for *The Other Bostonians*. This is the first time that one of the leading prizes in history has been awarded for a study in which quantification has been so central. Rather than an isolated event, *The Other Bostonians* is, I believe, the vanguard of a series of books based on the systematic application of quantitative methods that will command the attention of the entire discipline. Other compelling quantitative histories are now in preparation or can be expected to be completed during the next decade. One of these is Charles Tilly's study of conflicts in Europe during the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> It also is reasonable to expect that the score or more studies of social mobility in American cities during the nineteenth century that have been undertaken will soon provide the basis for an important synthesis. Other questions that have become the targets of concerted quantitative research and that should come to fruition within a decade or so include the analysis of the black experience during the half century between the Civil War and World War I, legislative history in Europe and the Americas, popular voting behavior during the past century, and social histories of sex, marriage, and the family, stretching back into medieval times for Great Britain and France and into the colonial period for the United States.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> This project, which exemplifies the kind of team research that has come into prominence with the large-scale collection and analysis of quantitative data, already embraces more than a score of separate studies. Aspects of the findings to date are reported in Edward Shorter and Charles Tilly, *Strikes in France, 1830-1968* (Cambridge, 1974), and Charles Tilly, Louise Tilly, and Richard Tilly, *The Rebellious Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975). The capstone of the project, tentatively entitled "French Collective Action, 1700-1975," will attempt to survey and synthesize the whole range of evidence accumulated by Tilly's group, produce an empirically based theory of collective action, and provide a new paradigm for French history during the past three centuries. It is scheduled for completion in 1975.

<sup>12</sup> Some impression of the scope of the research on social mobility can be gleaned from the papers in Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* (New Haven, 1969); Thernstrom, *Other Bostonians*, especially ch. 9; and Schnore, *New Urban History*; see also Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), and Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1951). Recent quantitative work in legislative history is illustrated in Aydelotte, "History of Parliamentary Behavior"; see also Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer, *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress* (Nashville, 1972). For examples of recent quantitative work in electoral history see Joel H. Silbey, Allan G. Bogue, and William Flanigan, eds., "American Electoral History: Quantitative Studies," mimeographed (1974); Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896* (Chicago, 1971); and Ronald P. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861* (Princeton, 1971); see also Lee Benson's innovative study, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York As a Test Case* (Princeton, 1961). The scope of research into the history of the family is indicated in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *An Introduction to English Historical Demography from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1966); Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (New York, 1973); and Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (New York, 1973). The new work on the post-Civil War experiences of blacks includes Richard B. Freeman, "The U.S. Discriminatory System: The Economics of Discrimination against Black Americans, 1870-1970," mimeographed; Richard Sutch and Roger

THIRD, WHAT KINDS OF QUANTITATIVE METHODS should be used in history? In considering this question it is useful to draw a distinction between informal or impressionistic methods of measurement and formal or rigorous methods of measurement. The most commonly applied methods of measurement in history are informal. Let me hasten to add that no pejorative connotation is to be attached to the term "informal." I am not in favor of overkill in measurement or anything else.

For many historical issues informal measurement is appropriate, and formal measures add nothing, or even detract from historical analysis. There is, for example, a passage in Arthur Schlesinger's *The Politics of Upheaval* describing a strategy conference at the White House after the Supreme Court struck down the NRA. At that meeting Homer Cummings, the attorney general, "striding the room in anger," urged Roosevelt to "get rid of the present membership of the Supreme Court."<sup>13</sup>

Now I interpret the word "anger" as a measure of intensity of feeling. Schlesinger was not very precise. He did not report Cummings's pulse or respiration rates; no electrodes were attached to Cummings's brain so that one could determine his brain-wave pattern. With proper equipment one could have developed an elaborate set of measurements and used these to define precisely the term "anger" in this particular instance. But obviously such measurements, even if they could have been obtained, would be quite useless. They would add nothing to our understanding of the situation that Schlesinger sought to describe. All that was required in this case was a rough distinction between possible emotional states. "Anger" is a sufficient distinction; it is different enough from "joy" or "apathy" to have suited Schlesinger's purposes. While Schlesinger's measurement was not precise, it was appropriate to the issue with which he was concerned.

On the other hand, there are cases in which the reliance on informal measurement has badly misled scholars on vital issues. It was long believed, for example, on the basis of casual impressions, that the Jacksonian elections of 1828 and 1832 witnessed a new level of popular participation. When Richard P. McCormick assembled state-by-state counts of participation in these and earlier elections, it turned out that the impression was false. Electoral participation rates in various previous elections were approximately the

---

Ransom, "What Was Freedom Worth?" mimeographed; Joseph Reid, Jr., "Sharecropping and Agricultural Uncertainty," mimeographed (paper no. 257, Department of Economics, University of Pennsylvania, 1973); Stephen J. DeCanio, *Agriculture in the Postbellum South: The Economics of Production and Supply* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); Robert Higgs, "Race, Tenure, and Resource Allocation in Southern Agriculture, 1910," *Journal of Economic History*, 33 (1973): 149-69; Gavin Wright, "Cotton Competition and the Post-Bellum Recovery of the American South," *Journal of Economic History*, 34 (1974): 610-35; Ralph Schlomowitz, "Institutional Arrangements in Southern Agriculture, 1865-1868," report no. 7475-12, paper presented to the Workshop in Economic History, University of Chicago, Jan. 17, 1975; and Stanley L. Engerman, "Changes in Black Fertility, 1880-1940," mimeographed, working paper prepared for the MSSB-Williamstown conference, Williams College, July 1974.

<sup>13</sup> Arthur Schlesinger, jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, vol. 3: *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston, 1960), 288-89.

same as those that prevailed during the Jacksonian era.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, in *The Vendée* Charles Tilly's tabulations of police rolls revealed that counter-revolutionaries in France during the 1790s were much more heterogeneous in their background than had been presumed and that artisans and other bourgeois elements had played a bigger role in the counterrevolutionary movement than had been realized.<sup>15</sup> Or consider the assertion, very widespread in the literature of the American West, that the reduction in transportation costs brought about by railroads was not only very large but a necessary condition for the settlement of the prairies. The casual impressions that gave rise to that assertion have also proved to be unwarranted. Analysis of data on transport costs and land values has revealed that ninety-five per cent of the prairie land in commercial cultivation in 1890 would have been cultivated even in the absence of railroads.<sup>16</sup>

One can divide the various methods of rigorous measurement currently employed in historical research into two categories—direct and indirect. The most common method of direct measurement in history is counting. My reference to counting as a rigorous method of measurement is not to be taken derisively. I use portentous language for what appears to be an elementary operation partly because I want to emphasize the dramatic change in interpretation that may result merely by moving from an impression to an actual count. I also wish to emphasize that counting is rarely an easy task in historical work. It was, for example, complex, costly, and time consuming to obtain from archival sources a valid distribution of the ages of slave mothers at the birth of their first surviving child. It required hundreds of man hours of research and thousands of dollars. Yet this “mere” act of counting yielded the discovery that half of all slave women were over twenty years of age at the birth of their first surviving child—a fact that threw into doubt the entire structure of traditional assumptions about the sexual behavior of slaves.<sup>17</sup>

Very often direct measurement is precluded. Then historians must make use of equations, for indirect measurement requires the existence of a

<sup>14</sup> Richard P. McCormick, “New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics,” *AHR*, 65 (1959–60): 288–301.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

<sup>16</sup> Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth* (Baltimore, 1964), 109–10.

<sup>17</sup> The distribution of ages of mothers at the birth of their first surviving child (reported in Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross* [Boston, 1974], 1: 137–38) was obtained from the probate records of approximately two hundred estates ranging in size from a few to over one hundred slaves. The sample has recently been expanded to 575 estates. These observations, which span the period from 1815 to 1860, are concentrated primarily in the states of Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana. Other important sources of information on the demographic behavior of the slave population include the records of large plantations, the manuscript schedules of the U.S. census, and the pension files of Civil War veterans. These sources and some of the uses to which they can be put are discussed in Richard H. Steckel, “Slave Marriage, Fertility, and Society,” report no. 7374–4, paper presented to the Workshop in Economic History, University of Chicago, Nov. 2, 1973. See also Steckel, “A List of 54 Plantations Containing Systematic Data on the Demographic Characteristics of the Slave Population,” in Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., “Evidence Relevant to the Post-Publication Debate on *Time on the Cross*,” mimeographed (Rochester, N.Y., 1974).

functional relationship between what the investigator wants to measure and what he can measure. It is the intrusion of equations into a literary discipline that has aroused the most opposition to the employment of quantitative methods in history.

Despite appearances to the contrary, quantitative historians deserve neither credit nor blame for the introduction of equations into historical literature. Equations have always been a part of historical literature. Prior to the appearance of quantitative historians, however, these equations were implicit, covert, and subliminal. The contribution of historical quantifiers is that they have made implicit mathematics explicit. Moreover quantifiers are concerned with whether the implicit equations crucial to some arguments are the correct equations. Does the particular functional form implicitly designated by a historian conform to the reality that he wishes to describe?

Permit me to cite two examples that illustrate both the prevalence and treacherousness of covert mathematics. The first example is drawn from the literature on the early industrialization of the American economy. The iron and steel industry is one of the most frequently discussed manufacturing sectors. Textbook writers and others note that while the output of this industry grew at only a moderate rate before 1840, it expanded quite rapidly between 1840 and 1860. To support this statement it is common to cite the following figures on pig-iron production:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Tons of Pig Iron</i>
1840	287,000
1860	988,000

But pig iron is only one of the products of the iron industry, not its total output. As measured by value added, pig iron accounted for only about one-sixth of the total output of the industry in 1860. Consequently historians who use the rate of growth of pig-iron production to measure the rate of growth in total output are implicitly assuming the following functional relationship:

$$T = mP \tag{1}$$

where

$T$  = total output

$P$  = pig-iron production

$m$  = a constant.

In other words, they are implicitly stating that total output of the industry is directly proportional to the output of pig iron. This is a linear equation with a zero intercept, the simplest of all equations.

Just because equation 1 is simple does not necessarily mean that it distorts reality. As a matter of fact, equation 1 is a good description of the relationship between pig-iron and total production from 1830 to 1860.



It is a poor description, however, of the relationship between these variables over the period from 1860 to 1900. Thus if one uses pig iron as a measure, one will conclude that the iron industry stagnated between 1860 and 1870, although an index of total output shows that the Civil War decade represented an era of unusually rapid expansion.<sup>18</sup> Since the growth of the iron industry has been made an issue in the debate over the effect of the Civil War on Northern industrialization, the inapplicability of equation 1 for the period after 1860 is not an empty issue for historians.

The second example is drawn from the literature on American Negro slavery. In his famous essay, "The Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt," published in 1905, U. B. Phillips argued that slaves were an unprofitable investment. To support his contention he assembled time series on the prices of slaves and raw cotton. These series showed that from 1815 on, slave prices rose more rapidly than cotton prices. According to Phillips that fact was sufficient to establish the proposition that the profitability of slavery must have declined over the period. Indeed, since the ratio of slave to cotton prices was much higher in 1860 than it had been in 1815, he drew the conclusion that by the eve of the Civil War slavery had become unprofitable.<sup>19</sup>

Equation 2 is the algebraic representation of the Phillips argument:

$$i^* = k(P_c^* - P_s^*) \quad (2)$$

where

$i$  = the rate of return

$k$  = a constant

$P_c$  = the price of cotton

$P_s$  = the price of slaves

\* = an asterisk superscript by a variable stands for the rate of change in that variable; thus  $i^*$  is the rate of change in  $i$ .

Equation 2 states that the rate of change in the rate of return is directly proportional to the difference between the rates of change in cotton and slave prices. When  $P_s^*$  is greater than  $P_c^*$ , not only will  $(P_c^* - P_s^*)$  be negative, but, if equation 2 is correct,  $i^*$  will also be negative. As in the previous example, the interpretation of one of the major issues of American history turns on the implicit assumption that certain variables are related to each other by a linear equation with a zero intercept.

I do not mean to give the impression that Phillips was naive. Quite the contrary, the issues in the economics of slavery that have occupied so much of the attention of econometric historians during the past two decades

<sup>18</sup> Robert W. Fogel, "The Specification Problem in Economic History," *Journal of Economic History*, 27 (1967): 293-94.

<sup>19</sup> U. B. Phillips, "The Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt," *Political Science Quarterly*, 20 (1905): 257-75.

are the ones he defined. Not only is equation 2 related to the equation subsequently used by Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer to estimate the rate of return on an investment in slaves,<sup>20</sup> but in one of the footnotes of *American Negro Slavery*, Phillips explicitly referred to the basic form of their equation,<sup>21</sup> namely:

$$P_s = \frac{H}{i} \left[ 1 - \frac{1}{(1+i)^n} \right] \quad (3)$$

where

$P_s$  = the price of a slave

$H$  = the expected average annual net income to be earned from the employment of the slave

$n$  = the expected number of years between the purchase of the slave and his death

$i$  = the rate of return on the purchase price of the slave.

Equation 3 states that the price an investor was willing to pay for a slave was equal to the discounted present-value of the average annual net income he expected to earn as a result of owning the slave. This is the standard formula for capitalizing an income stream. It is the equation used for determining the price of a long-term annuity or, with slight modification, the price of a long-term bond. Phillips was not only aware of the similarity between an investment in a slave and in a long-term security such as a bond, but he built much of his argument on that similarity.

It can be shown that the expression for the change in the rate of profit implied by equation 3 is not equation 2 but equation 4:

$$i^* = k[(\phi P_s^* - P_s^*) + \phi(Q^* - L^*) + (1 - \phi)M^*]. \quad (4)$$

All the symbols of equation 4 have been defined previously except

$(Q^* - L^*)$  = the rate of change in the productivity of slaves—in total output ( $Q$ ) divided by the number of slave workers ( $L$ )

$M^*$  = the rate of change in the cost of slave maintenance

$\phi$  = the ratio of the gross annual income ( $H_g$ ) earned on a slave to the net annual income ( $H$ ); i.e.,  $H = H_g - M$  and  $\phi = H_g/H$

$k$  = a constant close to 1; its exact magnitude depends on the base-period values of  $i$  and  $n$ .

A comparison between equations 2 and 4 reveals that equation 2 is merely a special case of equation 4. Equation 4 will reduce to equation 2 when  $\phi = 1$  and  $Q^* - L^* = 0$ . Consequently the evaluation of the Phillips

<sup>20</sup> Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South," *Journal of Political Economy*, 66 (1958): 95-130.

<sup>21</sup> The equation is presented in Arthur H. Gibson, *Human Economics* (London, 1909), bk. 2, chs. 6, 7. In *American Negro Slavery* (Baton Rouge, 1966), 359, Phillips cites Gibson and then states that his own discussion is "mostly in close accord with Gibson's analysis."

thesis comes down to the question of whether Phillips was justified in implicitly assuming that  $\phi = 1$  and  $Q^* - L^* = 0$ . For only then is information on the change in the ratio of cotton to slave prices *alone* sufficient to determine that profits were declining. Clearly the assumption that  $\phi = 1$  is false. Since  $\phi = H_g/H$ , the condition for  $\phi$  to be equal to one is that expenditures on the maintenance of slaves ( $M$ ) were zero—that slaves were being starved to death. All available evidence, including the evidence assembled by Phillips on the material conditions of slave life, refutes this assumption. Available evidence also contradicts the assumption that there was no increase in the productivity of slaves. A recent estimate based on a sample of data from the manuscript schedules of the census suggests that the rate of growth in slave productivity ( $Q^* - L^*$ ) between 1850 and 1860 may have been as high as 2.9 per cent per annum.<sup>22</sup>

Thus the thesis that slavery was unprofitable, a proposition that dominated the historiography on the antebellum South for a half century, was based on a false equation. The relationship between the rate of change in profit and the rate of change in the ratio of slave to cotton prices is not well described by a linear equation with a zero intercept. Indeed, for many problems even equation 4 is inadequate. If, for example, one wanted to take account of the effects of differential advances in technology (or changes in the mix of slave-produced commodities, or shifts in the geographic locus of cotton production), a fairly elaborate model, involving several equations, would have to be employed.<sup>23</sup>

The lesson of these examples is simple. The prohibition of explicit equations will not eliminate mathematics from historiography. It will merely impede the effort to determine whether the implicit equations embedded in important arguments are true or false, whether these equations are adequate depictions of the reality with which historians are concerned.

Quantitative methods are like a plumber's tool kit. If you ask a plumber which wrench he should use on a particular pipe, he will reply, "The one that fits." For the historian the tool that fits is the one most appropriate to the historical reality that is being analyzed and that will yield the most information from the available data.

WILL THEN, THE USE OF quantitative methods make history scientific? The answer to that question, in my opinion, is an unequivocal no.

Scholars who have interpreted my previous essays on methodology as

<sup>22</sup> James D. Foust and Dale E. Swan, "Productivity and Profitability of Antebellum Slave Labor: A Micro-Approach," *Agricultural History*, 44 (1970): 45.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, the simultaneous-equation models employed by Claudia Dale Goldin to examine the effect of changes in the rate of change of the slave population on the distribution of slaves between rural and urban areas. "The Economics of Urban Slavery: The South, 1820 to 1860," mimeographed (Princeton, 1974), especially ch. 5.

attempts to make humanism subservient to social science in the writing of history may be perplexed by this response. It is true that I was willing to carry another banner before Stanley L. Engerman and I began to work on *Time on the Cross*. But the writing of this book has been a chastening experience for us. In the course of these labors, our views of the relationship between science and humanism in the writing of history have evolved significantly, as those who have read the successive drafts of the manuscript can testify. We have come to recognize that history is, and very likely will remain, primarily a humanistic discipline. We now believe that the issue raised by historical quantifiers is not whether history can be transformed into social science but the realm of usefulness of social-science methods in a humanistic discipline.

In both the prologue and appendix A of *Time on the Cross* Engerman and I emphasize that in attempting to weave the findings of the cliometricians into a wide-ranging reinterpretation of the slave economy we passed over from social science to traditional history. Appendix B is social science; volume 1 is not. Volume 1 is traditional history. It is distinguished from other traditional works on the history of slavery not because it is "more scientific" but because it draws more heavily on the findings of social science than has been true of most previous studies. The distinction between *being* scientific and *making use* of scientific findings may seem too slight to have much significance. But in my view the distinction is extremely important, and the failure to recognize that it is a crucial distinction has been at the root of much of the misunderstanding that has afflicted both sides of the debate over the role of scientific methods in history. It is this distinction between being scientific and making use of science that Engerman and I were trying to define when we said, "If we had confined our consideration of the economics of slavery purely to what can be achieved with the methods of the social sciences, this book would have been limited to appendix B, or to some more extended version of it."<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, we explicitly state that, useful as social science may be in providing certain of the elements that must be included in a historical synthesis, the synthesis itself lies beyond the range of social science.

The task which historians set for themselves cannot be achieved through social science alone. Because historians aspire to comprehend the totality of human behavior, their concerns transcend the subject matter of the social sciences and enter moral and aesthetic realms. Even with respect to those issues which fall within the scope of social science, historians frequently demand more than social science can deliver. This is certainly the case when historians attempt to combine all the elements of human behavior that concern social scientists—economic, social, political, psychological, and cultural—into a "seamless web."

Social science is incapable of producing such a seamless web. It produces, instead, particular bodies of knowledge. There is, for example, no theory which

<sup>24</sup> Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*, 2: 4.

encompasses all economic behavior, but only theories which deal with such particular aspects of economic behavior as income distribution, resource allocation, and economic growth. And the theories developed to analyze these problems are far from comprehensive. Economists can deal with income distribution, resource allocation, and economic growth only under certain quite specific sets of circumstances.<sup>25</sup>

Far from believing that there is an intrinsic antagonism between the humanities and social science, we hold that, when properly applied, social-science methods will enhance the scope of humanistic considerations in history. We believe, for example, that the use of social-science methods in *Time on the Cross* serves to emphasize and enlarge the moral aspects of the problem of slavery. The point is not that social-science methods can be used to resolve moral questions but that they can, in many instances, help to identify and clarify moral issues.

Moral debates are frequently based on assumptions regarding the state of economic behavior, of political behavior, and of social behavior. If, for example, it is argued that slavery was immoral because masters found it profitable to work slaves to death in seven years, then social science becomes relevant to that particular moral question. What social science has to offer is germane, not to the resolution of this moral issue, but to the economic premise that gave rise to the moral issue—the premise that slaveholders sought to, or were impelled to, maximize profits by working slaves to death in seven years. If the premise is shown to be false, the moral issue that it posed is not resolved; it simply disappears from the category of relevant moral issues pertaining to slavery.

By providing rigorous tests of assumptions made by other scholars regarding economic and social behavior under slavery, *Time on the Cross* has enhanced the relevance of some moral issues and diminished the relevance of others. In so doing, it contributes to a redefinition of the moral problem of slavery. Indeed it is our belief that by exposing various myths regarding economic and social behavior under slavery, *Time on the Cross* shows that the overriding questions generated by slavery were not economic and social but moral. That, by the way, is one of the considerations which led us to make *Time on the Cross* the title of our book.

I do not mean to suggest that Engerman and I limited our comments on moral questions merely to the examination of the behavioral assumptions which gave rise to these questions. In section 6.1 of appendix C we plunged directly into the debate regarding the substance of the moral problem posed by slavery. In criticizing the way in which Kenneth M. Stampp defined the moral problem, we projected our own view of the matter. But when we entered into this debate over values we did so as humanistic historians rather than as social scientists.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

TO WHAT KINDS OF ISSUES should quantitative methods be applied? Formal quantitative methods have their most obvious application in the analysis of the behavior of groups. Indeed, without the aid of formal statistical methods it is not possible to describe adequately the characteristics—let alone to explain their evolution over time—of such large groups as socio-economic classes (workers, capitalists, peasants, slaves), populations of national or subnational political units (provinces, states, cities), political and social elites (legislators, revolutionary leaders, bishops, nobles), or other specific social, economic, or political categories (immigrants, members of religious orders, dissenters, taxpayers, voters).

The futility of attempts to resolve essentially statistical issues by non-statistical procedures is well illustrated by the historiography of slavery. Neo-abolitionist and revisionist historians have been engaged in protracted debates on the material conditions of slave life. Among the points under dispute are the quality of the slave diet and the frequency of the breakup of slave marriages due to slave trading. With respect to the diet, neo-abolitionists have charged that slaves were nutritionally starved, using as evidence certain statements by travelers to the South on the absence of variety in the slave diet or similar commentary found in narratives by ex-slaves.<sup>26</sup> But, of course, other travelers and other narratives indicate that the diet was quite good. These favorable instances have been cited by revisionist historians who maintain that slaves were well fed.<sup>27</sup> It is not necessary to belabor the point that such isolated scraps of evidence, arbitrarily chosen from the mass of testimony thrown up by the controversy over slavery, cannot be used to resolve the debate over the nature of the slave diet.

The problem facing historians of the South, then, is how to characterize a *distribution* of diets that varied from very bad for some slaves to very good for others. This is obviously a statistical question; it is precisely the kind of question for which statistical methods were designed. Moreover the evidence needed to resolve the issue is in fact at hand. In *Time on the Cross* we showed how it was possible to apply the U.S. Department of Agriculture's "disappearance" method to census data in order to estimate the *average* consumption of ten principal foods by slaves living on large plantations (plantations of fifty or more slaves). This analysis led to the startling conclusion that on the average the nutritional content of the slave diet on such plantations exceeded minimum requirements in every one of the major nutrients.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York, 1956), 282–89.

<sup>27</sup> See William Dosite Postell, *The Health of Slaves on Southern Plantations* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 31–38.

<sup>28</sup> Recent efforts to refute this finding have served to establish the robustness of the result—that is, it now appears unlikely that any plausible alternative application of the USDA procedure can reduce below minimum requirements the estimated average consumption, by slaves on large plantations, of any of the main nutrients. The original computation is described in *Time on the Cross*, 2: 90–99. A demonstration that the principal attack on this computation



The conclusion that the slave diet was generally quite varied—in a nutritional rather than in a gastronomic sense—also emerges from a statistical analysis of the commentaries of ex-slaves. Over a thousand of the narratives of ex-slaves collected by Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration contain characterizations of their diets under slavery. The overwhelming majority of those who made such comments indicated that their diets were good or very good. Interestingly enough, this result holds whether the person who interviewed the ex-slave was black or white. The last point is relevant since it has been argued that the WPA narratives are unreliable as a source of information because the majority of the interviewers were white.<sup>29</sup>

The foregoing indicates that quantitative methods are essential if historians are to succeed in shifting the attention of their discipline from a preoccupation with exceptional individuals to concentration on the life and times of common people. Indeed the application of quantitative methods in history has opened up the possibility that with respect to such issues as the evolution of the family, the determinants of occupational mobility, and the effect of religion on political and social behavior we may soon be able to say more about the experiences of ordinary people than of exceptional individuals. For one of the consequences of the introduction of quantitative methods has been the discovery that church records, probate records, tax rolls, and similar sources contain detailed information on a wide variety of human activities stretching far back into time.

While quantitative methods appear to be most useful as an aid in writing the history of groups, they also have bearing on the history of particular individuals. Statistical methods have, for example, been used to identify authorship—a matter that is frequently at issue in writing of the lives of prominent individuals. Quantitative methods can also be used in order to determine just how exceptional particular individuals were in aspects

---

leaves intact the finding that the average diet exceeded minimum requirements for all the main nutrients is contained in Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, "Further Evidence on the Nutritional Adequacy of the Slave Diet," paper presented to the MSSB-Rochester conference on *Time on the Cross*, University of Rochester, Oct. 23, 1974. In this paper evidence is also presented that the original computation substantially underestimated the degree of variety in the slave diet. Nevertheless it should be stressed that adequacy "on the average" does not preclude the possibility of seasonal inadequacies in one or more nutrients even for slaves who were normally well fed. Moreover investigation into the extent and determinants of variation in the diet from plantation to plantation is still at a preliminary stage. Stephen C. Crawford has found that while small slaveholdings showed more variation in the quality of the diet than large ones, the share of ex-slaves who considered their diet adequate or better was about the same on small as on large plantations. "A Note on the Relationship between Plantation Size and Diet Adequacy," in Fogel and Engerman, "Evidence Relevant to the Post-Publication Debate."

<sup>29</sup> For a description of the problems involved in quantifying the data in the ex-slave narratives, as well as a report on preliminary findings, see Stephen C. Crawford, "Toward a Quantitative Analysis of the Data Contained in the W.P.A. and Fisk University Narratives of Ex-Slaves: Some Preliminary Findings," report no. 7475-1, paper presented to the Workshop in Economic History, University of Chicago, Oct. 4, 1974. See also C. Vann Woodward, "History from Slave Sources," *AHR*, 79 (1974): 470-81.

of their behavior or beliefs and in order to evaluate the efficacy of particular policies pursued by prominent figures. Did the fiscal and monetary policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt ameliorate or exacerbate the Depression? Did Charles Sumner exercise exceptional power in the Thirty-seventh Senate? These are questions that are amenable to quantitative analysis.<sup>30</sup>

WHAT ROLE SHOULD QUANTITATIVE METHODS occupy in the graduate training of history students? Instead of attempting to provide a general answer to this question I would like to describe the response that is under consideration at the University of Chicago.

The department of history at Chicago recently decided to initiate a systematic training program in mathematical methods for Ph.D. candidates. To facilitate the development of such a program it endorsed the establishment of a Committee on Quantitative Methods in History (CQMH). This committee, which will have degree-granting powers, will be quasi-independent of the history department but will work in close conjunction with it. The duration of CQMH has been set at ten years, with the aim of fully incorporating its activities within the history department by the termination date.

I used the term "quasi-independent" to describe the administrative relationship of CQMH to the history department. Some administrative independence seemed warranted in order to facilitate recruitment of new faculty and to provide the measure of administrative flexibility needed to expedite experimentation in new courses and in the development of training programs that may require a substantial amount of cooperation with various departments of social science and with the mathematics and statistics departments.

On the other hand, the objective of the Chicago program is not the establishment of a new discipline but the enrichment of an existing one. It is believed that the quantitative transformation of history which is possible during the next decade will, if achieved, not bring about an elimination of traditional methods. Rather it will permit quantitative methods to become a fully legitimate, an important, and a widely practiced instrument of historical research. The task at hand is the development of a program that makes education in quantitative methods *one* of the regular features of the training of Ph.D. candidates in history. Consequently it is agreed that all degrees given by CQMH during its life will be granted jointly with the history department. It is also agreed that all new faculty

<sup>30</sup> The impact of the fiscal policies of Roosevelt are evaluated in E. Cary Brown, "Fiscal Policy in the 'Thirties: A Reappraisal," *American Economic Review*, 46 (1956): 857-79. The monetary policies of the Roosevelt era are considered in Milton Friedman and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960* (Princeton, 1963). Various measures of power exercised by senators in the Thirty-seventh Senate are set forth in Allan G. Bogue, "Some Dimensions of Power in the Thirty-Seventh Senate," in Aydelotte, Bogue, and Fogel, *Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, 285-318.

appointments to CQMH should require approval by the history department and be joint appointments.

The principal tasks facing the organizers of CQMH are the integration of activities that already exist at Chicago into the new program, the expansion of the faculty capable of applying mathematical methods to history, the development of a curriculum, the development of a publications program, and the determination of appropriate ways of contributing to national and international efforts to advance the application of mathematical methods to history.

The recruitment of a faculty is the most critical problem to be solved if the new program is to be a success. In this connection it is planned that new faculty positions will be built around the core of scholars already at Chicago. The temporary organizing committee includes both present members of the history department who apply quantitative methods in their research as well as social scientists in anthropology, economics, geography, political science, and sociology who have strong historical interests. But even at a major university such as Chicago, the existing faculty will have to be augmented if the objectives of the program are to be achieved. It is believed that seven new appointments will be necessary, five at the senior level and two at the junior level. One of the appointments would be used for senior visiting scholars, especially from other countries. The breakdown of five and two is not rigid. In a field in which the technology is changing rapidly, some of the most innovative scholarship will emanate from the younger men. The exact breakdown between junior, senior, and intermediate faculty will, to some extent, depend on Chicago's power to attract those they want.

There are several aspects to the problem of curriculum. One is the development of a year-long course aimed at introducing history students to the broad array of mathematical methods now being applied in historical analysis. Among the topics covered in such a course would be elements of mathematics, including set theory, probability theory, calculus, and linear algebra; an introduction to statistical methods, including statistical inference, regression analysis, and design of samples; methods of quantifying qualitative data, including content analysis; and behavioral models in economics, political science, and sociology.

Such a survey course would fulfill two needs. First, it would provide the typical history student who does not plan to specialize in quantitative history with the background required to understand and appraise historical works that employ mathematical methods. Second, it would provide the history student who wants to master one or more of the quantitative techniques with the elementary foundation needed to take the more advanced courses offered by CQMH or in one of the departments of the social sciences.

In addition to the introductory course three intermediate "tool" courses

are planned. These will be directed at students who desire not merely literacy in quantitative history but a sufficient command of behavioral models and quantitative techniques to be able to apply them in their own research. The intermediate courses will be designed to provide students with a working command of the economic, social, and political models most relevant to current historical research, without requiring them to obtain the equivalent of a Ph.D. in one or the other of the social sciences. Of course some students will go beyond this intermediate level. Advanced courses may, therefore, be introduced directly within the CQMH program. Alternatively it may be more appropriate to establish special sections of existing courses within other departments.

An additional ten to fifteen courses would be introduced that aim to educate students in the *art* of applying mathematical methods in history. Students enrolled in such courses would normally be required to have previous training in the basic techniques, at least at the intermediate level. These courses would focus on the substance of historical problems, emphasizing the ways in which behavioral models and quantitative techniques can be employed to obtain evidence and advance analysis of issues that would otherwise be intractable or at least more difficult to resolve.

In one respect such courses would appear to be similar to traditional history courses, for they would be organized largely by time and geographic region. They would differ, however, by focusing on those substantive subjects—including the social history of the family, black history, urban history, collective biography, parliamentary history, and the history of popular voting behavior—where quantitative methods have been, or give promise of being, most productive.

Instructors of these courses will be scholars whose distinction rests not so much in their command of technical matters per se as in their ability to use these techniques to illuminate history. Several scholars at Chicago have already achieved distinction for their ingenuity in applying quantitative methods to a wide array of historical issues. Adding to this core of instructors will be the central objective in recruiting new faculty.

Still another area of concern of CQMH is the promotion of interuniversity and international programs to service the needs of the new approach. An important way that Chicago might contribute to interuniversity needs is through the establishment of a permanent summer training institute on mathematical methods in history. Such a program would be integrated into Chicago's regular summer session but directed primarily toward Ph.D. candidates at other institutions, to new Ph.D.'s who want training in this area, and to older scholars who want to be brought up to date on new developments.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Chicago is, of course, not the only university considering the institution of a major new program for quantitative methods in history. Last April, Dean Henry Rosovsky initiated discussions on the advisability of establishing a standing committee on quantitative methods in history in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. The history department at

WHAT, FINALLY, CAN BE DONE to overcome the problem in communication created by the intrusion of explicit quantitative methods into historical literature? The problem of communication among professional historians is more tractable than the problem of communication between historians and the reading public. As I have tried to indicate in the answer to the previous question, I believe it is possible to design a course that will provide nonquantitative historians with a sufficient command of the mathematical methods now employed in history to permit them to understand and assess quantitative studies. If the work of quantitative historians becomes sufficiently compelling, such a course will no doubt become a standard part of the training for the Ph.D. in history.

But such a relatively easy solution will not bridge the gap between quantitative historians and the very large public that reads history. Even if we assume that future generations of high-school graduates will have better training in mathematics than current generations, it will be a long time before typical college freshmen enrolled in the American history survey course can cope with the mathematical and statistical models that are now commonly employed in economic history and increasingly employed in social and political history. The typical parents of these freshmen, moreover, will never have an adequate mathematical background.

Consequently unless the problem in communication is addressed vigorously, we face the danger that history will be transformed into an esoteric subject that is directly accessible only to rigorously trained professionals. That, of course, is one possible route of development, which, if realized, would require a corps of intermediaries or popularizers who could explain to the lay public the findings of professional historians. This is the line of development that has taken place in the physical sciences.

A better solution, in my opinion, is for quantifiers themselves to assume the burden of translating quantitative history into ordinary language. As I have argued, quantification will not transform history into a science but merely expand the store of scientifically validated knowledge on which historians can draw. For the foreseeable future history will be compounded out of a mixture of systematic evidence subject to rigorous statistical tests and informal or fragmentary evidence. The exclusion of one or the other type of evidence will impoverish rather than enrich history. Specific human examples, fragmentary as they may be, are often needed to interpret and give meaning to tables and diagrams that summarize systematic evidence. And statistical methods are needed to tell us which human examples are typical and which are atypical.

The desideratum is a generation of scholars trained in the ability to make use of all of the categories of evidence on which historians must

---

the University of Rochester is planning to hold a series of summer institutes on quantitative and econometric methods as a prelude to making training in these methods an integral part of the preparation for the Ph.D. degree.

rely. I am not proposing that every historian should possess quantitative and literary abilities in equal measure. There will be room for a division of labor in the future, as in the past. Still, I do not believe that quantification requires the abandonment of the synthesis as the ultimate achievement of historiography. Nor do I believe that the quantification requires the abandonment of history as a literary art.



---

# Quantitative History

---

A Review Article by CHARLOTTE ERICKSON

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE. *Quantification in History*. (Addison-Wesley Series in History.) Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. 1971. Pp. x. 179. \$2.50.

LEE BENSON. *Toward the Scientific Study of History: Selected Essays*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1972. Pp. xi, 352. Cloth \$8.75, paper \$3.95.

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE *et al.* *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*. Edited by WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE, ALLAN G. BOGUE, and ROBERT W. FOGEL. (Quantitative Studies in History.) [Princeton:] Princeton University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 435. \$12.50.

VAL R. LORWIN and JACOB M. PRICE, editors. *The Dimensions of the Past: Materials, Problems, and Opportunities for Quantitative Work in History*. (Essays presented to the American Historical Association's Committee on Quantitative Data.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1972. Pp. vi, 568. \$17.50.

E. A. WRIGLEY, editor. *Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data*. (Publication of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. vii, 448. \$27.50.

NONE OF THESE COLLECTIONS of articles and essays is a guide to the mathematics of quantitative history.<sup>1</sup> Not more than three of the articles are written in equations. Non-numerate members of the profession will not often find themselves at a loss to understand what is being said. This is just as well, because most of the authors exhibit a missionary aim, namely, to persuade historians, other than those in economic or demographic history, to employ quantitative methods. The missionary appeal is also directed toward possible donors of research grants, since many of these projects required more resources for research assistants and computer time

<sup>1</sup>For an excellent survey of recent quantitative work, which includes judgments on guides to how to do it, see Robert P. Swierenga, "Computers and American History: The Impact of the 'New' Generation," *Journal of American History*, 60 (1974): 1045-70.

than historians have been wont to use. In addition, in differing degrees, these volumes survey and criticize sources for numbers from the past, delineate the kinds of problems susceptible to measurement and statistical analysis, point out some of the difficulties that are encountered in classifying and manipulating quantitative data, as well as present some examples of varieties of quantitative history.

Professor Aydelotte has been for two decades an advocate and practitioner of quantitative methods. *Quantification in History* gathers together four articles written since 1954, prefaced by a new introduction and concluded by the publication of six letters exchanged with Professor J. H. Hexter between 1967 and 1970. The most substantial of these articles is "The Problem of Historical Generalization," reprinted from *Generalization in the Writing of History: A Report of the Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council* (1963), edited by Louis Gottschalk. Most of Aydelotte's pleas for more quantification and the formulation of testable hypotheses in historical writing are sweetly reasonable and moderate, and his claims as to their application modest.

Lee Benson is neither so vague nor so moderate. This collection of his essays includes his important and stimulating "Research Problems in American Political Historiography" (1957)<sup>2</sup> in which he demonstrated, with a few simple figures about voting patterns, that some specific generalizations which had graced substantial historical works about the elections of 1824, 1860, 1884, and 1896 could be overturned by stating clearly the implied hypotheses and testing them by analyzing geographical distributions of votes, voting patterns over time, and rates of shifts in voter behavior. Benson also enjoined historians to examine interest groups other than economic ones in the study of group political behavior and indicated a method of measuring voting from this point of view. It is not, perhaps, too much to say that Benson lifted the historical study of interest groups and voting behavior from the ditch in which Beard and his critics had left it. The impetus led Benson himself to complete his brilliant *Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* in 1961. There is no need to particularize to make the point that the historical study of voter behavior is today a flourishing field of scholarship.

The other essays in the volume indicate a shift in Benson's view of the aims of history. In the 1950s he laid emphasis upon the historical context, on Marc Bloch's assertion that "a historical phenomenon can never be understood apart from its moment in time."<sup>3</sup> Benson then defined the historian's goal as "to uncover and illuminate the motives of human beings acting in particular situations, and, thus, help men to understand themselves." His attitude toward methods of investigation was eclectic and

<sup>2</sup> Published originally in Mirra Komarovsky, ed., *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe, 1957), 113-83.

<sup>3</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, tr. Peter Putnam (New York, 1953), 35, cited in Benson, *Toward the Scientific Study of History*, 50.

pragmatic. "That is, if historians explore the possibilities of simultaneously employing traditional impressionistic methodology and systematic quantitative techniques in attacking the complex problems involved in understanding man's past, they are likely to come closer to their goals and improve both types of methodology to boot."<sup>4</sup> Historians are even justified in proceeding without theory.

From 1961 onward Benson appears to have become increasingly committed to a view of history as a social science and of scientific history as the foundation of all other social sciences. The potential of modern computer technology and cooperative scholarship seems finally to open the door to the positivist goals, exemplified by H. T. Buckle, of discovering universal laws of human behavior verified by empirical data. In "Quantification, Scientific History, and Scholarly Innovation" Benson hailed as ushering in the new science the inauguration in 1963 by the American Historical Association of an *ad hoc* committee, of which he was chairman, to collect the basic quantitative data of American political history, together with the great decentralized "working confederation of political researchers" in the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research established at Ann Arbor in 1962. Nevertheless as late as "Middle Period Historiography," published in 1971, he was still conceding that there were different kinds of historical writing which might continue to coexist.<sup>5</sup>

In "Explanations of American Civil War Causation: A Critical Assessment and a Modest Proposal to Reorient and Reorganize the Social Sciences," published for the first time in this volume, Professor Benson seems to have lost his moorings. Again he takes on four historians—G. Barrington Moore, Eugene Genovese, David Donald, and Eric Foner. His brilliant and learned dissection of their interpretations is more polemical than his work of seventeen years ago. He dismisses them as "irredeemably erroneous" for faulty classification of phenomena, not for mistaken implicit quantification. He has little to offer instead except another classification. Writing of a serious "methodological gap" in the study of mass behavior, he advocates large sustained efforts to find new methods. His typology on the causes of the Civil War is not very encouraging as to the direction this search is taking.<sup>6</sup>

But no matter. It is the system that is at fault, not the researchers.

Such research, I trust, some day will be undertaken when adequate resources exist to develop credible explanations of Civil War causation. But for that happier state of affairs to come about the existing historiographic system must be overthrown and replaced. . . . The job of credibly explaining Civil War

<sup>4</sup> Benson, *Toward the Scientific Study of History*, 75; see also 80, 82, 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 103, 192, 195. Benson's "Quantification, Scientific History, and Scholarly Innovation" was originally published in *AHA Newsletter*, June 1966, pp. 11–16; "Middle Period Historiography: What Is To Be Done?" was originally published in George Athan Billias and Gerald N. Grob, eds., *American History: Retrospect and Prospect* (New York, 1971), 154–90.

<sup>6</sup> Benson, *Toward the Scientific Study of History*, 334–40.

causation is not beyond the powers of man. But I think it is beyond the powers of men burdened by the fetters of the present historiographic and social science systems.<sup>7</sup>

The man who so perceptively criticizes Moore and Foner for reification objects to the system that "permits" Moore's explanation to be taken seriously. He who objected to the ahistorical explanations of Frederick Jackson Turner and Achille Loria now condemns the Founding Fathers for having created a "defective" constitution that led to a powerful presidency and an irresponsible party system.<sup>8</sup> How thoroughly he could demolish others who indulged in such ahistorical hindsight! His "modest proposal" for understanding the Civil War consists not of testable hypotheses and usable methods but in the setting up of a billion-dollar institute, funded for twenty years and completely independent of existing academic institutions. By leaving "its directors . . . free to decide who they wish to have participate in its work" it would avoid the atomistic liberalism of the present establishment. This institute should study intrasocietal violence on the assumption that "no such thing exists as an *innate* human instinct for aggression, hostility or violence."<sup>9</sup> If Benson does not submit a convincing case for a new scientific history, it should be noted that none of this has anything to do with quantitative methods in history.

AYDELOTTE AND BENSON were both associated with the production of two of the other volumes that bear such similar titles. Aydelotte was one of the editors of *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, and he contributed one of the papers. Benson presented a paper at the meetings in Harvard in 1966, when early drafts of these papers were delivered and criticized. That meeting, a subsequent one in 1969, and publication of the volume were sponsored by the Committee of the Mathematical Social Science Board, established in 1964 under the aegis of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. This volume emphasizes what has been and can be done with quantitative methods. The editors hope "to clear the air and to indicate, more precisely than would be feasible by other means, both the possibilities and the limitations of quantitative methods."<sup>10</sup>

The essays are concerned with French, British, and American history and range in date from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. They indicate a variety of historical problems that might be approached in part

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 271, 316n.

<sup>8</sup> "Given the nature of American society in the late eighteenth century and its reasonably predictable evolution in the nineteenth, the governmental system created by the new constitution was almost certain to, and did actually, produce" those features Benson faults. *Ibid.*, 318-19.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 327, italics in original.

<sup>10</sup> Aydelotte, Bogue, and Fogel, introd., *Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, 3.

by quantitative methods and of statistical tools available for those prepared to use them in a discriminating and appropriate manner. The questions tackled are by no means trivial (as is sometimes suggested) as a quick tally will show. The first three papers deal with aspects of social mobility. Lawrence Stone and Jeanne Stone report some preliminary findings in a larger study of the entry of new men into the top landed class in Britain from the early sixteenth century to 1879. Gilbert Shapiro and Philip Dawson examine whether access to opportunity, as measured by the numbers of ennobling offices in a particular place, or frustration from an inability to secure elevation produced the more radical complaints in the *cahiers de doléance* in 1789. The chapter by Stephan Thernstrom, drawn from his study of social mobility in Boston since 1880,<sup>11</sup> is concerned with the relationship between religious belief and mobility. Charles Tilly's contribution continues an already well-developed study of crowds in France. The contributions on political behavior also fall within a well-developed field. Professor Aydelotte again uses scale analysis to test the issues, other than the Corn Laws, that may have divided British Conservatives in the 1840s. An analysis of a few indicators of voter behavior in twentieth-century congressional elections is afforded by Gerald Kramer and Susan Lepper. Allan Bogue's experiments with a number of different indexes to locate the men who wielded power in the Thirty-seventh Senate (1860) contain the most original applications of statistical methods. The much neglected subject of urban expenditure in small towns (population 10,000–25,000) is analyzed for the year 1903 by J. Rogers Hollingsworth and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth. The final essay, by Robert Fogel and Jack Rutner, addressed to the question of whether federal land policy in the late nineteenth century directed too much capital and labor into agriculture or inhibited development by encouraging speculators to withhold land from use, is the only one in economic history. Demographic studies are not represented.

A considerable range of statistical techniques and models has been employed by the contributors. At least two of the papers are of special interest for the source materials used. The Stones are investigating country houses above a defined size to locate the top landed class; indeed their paper is about the construction and remodeling of those houses as a first stage in the analysis of their owners. Newspapers have yielded the basic incidents on which Charles Tilly has constructed his index of collective violence in France, though material about the composition of the participants on both sides, their aims, and the background to the larger incidents he quantifies comes from other sources as well. The introduction to the volume places each essay in its historiographic context with a few firm and masterly strokes.

<sup>11</sup> Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

THE VOLUME EDITED by Val Lorwin and Jacob Price was commissioned by the American Historical Association under the guidance of the Committee on Quantitative Data in History, which was reorganized and expanded in 1967 to include scholars outside the field of United States history. The committee faced an information gap when it began to consider the prospects for quantitative work by American historians whose main scholarly interest lay outside the United States. Two conferences were held during the winter of 1967 to hear reports about the present state of quantitative history and the sources for it in many parts of the world. Not all the surveys have been included in this published volume, but some attempt was made to get contributors to write to a common brief, including a survey of sources and the provision of preliminary bibliography, a review of quantitative work already produced on the country or group of countries covered, and proposals for priorities should resources become available to assist the extension of quantitative history in that field. The following areas appear in this volume: medieval Europe; Britain from 1650 to 1830; France since 1789; Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the Nordic countries since the late seventeenth century; five centuries of Spanish history; Russia from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries and in the Soviet period; Latin America in colonial times and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; Japan since 1600; and India since 1500.

As might be expected with such a vast initial undertaking, the various writers have adhered unevenly to the brief. The most useful bibliographies of both authorities and sources have been provided by David Herlihy on the Middle Ages, Charles Tilly and Louise A. Tilly on France, Arcadius Kahan for Russia, and John J. Te Paske for colonial Latin America. A few writers have buried bibliographical references in notes at the end of their respective chapters, where they serve as neither accessible notes nor bibliography. No bibliographies have been attempted for India and Japan, but the article by Kozo Yamamura and Susan B. Hanley on Japan strikes one as a very good introduction, from firsthand knowledge, to a variety of source materials, together with hints from experience on how to approach the vast bodies of data that apparently survive from the Tokugawa period (1600–1867). Morris David Morris's account of Indian materials is largely secondhand. Kahan mentions Soviet source materials, such as family budgets, that not even Soviet academicians have been able to examine.

The surveys of historical literature cover monographs in the native languages as well as English, except in the case of the article on India. The essays on France, Spain, and colonial Latin America are quite outstanding, both for their clear presentation of the views and methods of succeeding generations of scholars and for their introduction to the institutions generating statistical information. Birgitta Oden's contribution on Scandinavia is critical of the sources but not of authorities. No essay on authori-



ties is provided for Russian history. Where, as in France and Germany, quantitative work is by no means new, Charles Tilly and James Sheehan deplore the flatness of statistical methods of past and living scholars. In spite of the wealth of source material, Japanese scholars are reported to have hesitated to conduct quantitative research. All the essays discuss demographic sources. Those on Japan, Latin America, India, and Russia are limited to materials for economic history. The article on Germany stresses material for studies of political behavior and elites. It is the only essay that mentions quantitative studies of businessmen.

The writers on Japan, India, Spanish America, and the Middle Ages are sanguine about the usability of vast troves of material not as yet subjected to quantitative analysis, or indeed used hitherto by historians at all. In contrast, David Landes, Louise Tilly, and Birgitta Oden are somewhat doubtful that much more can be squeezed out of the sources themselves for the early modern "proto-statistical" period in France, Britain, and Scandinavia.<sup>12</sup> Were the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries less statistical dark ages in Asia than in Western Europe? It remains to be seen. Almost every writer emphasizes the importance of regional materials, including those who feel that dead ends have been reached as to aggregates for some eras.

Recommendations differ as well, partly depending on the state of knowledge of the sources in the area covered. Most contributors want surveys and bibliographies of the sources of the statistical raw materials. The feasibility of data banks like that at Michigan is in everyone's mind. Aydelotte's contribution consists of a suggestion for a British data bank for political behavioral studies. Quite a few of the essayists are keen on more conferences. It is difficult to imagine that many countries in the world will fund, on the lavish basis required, their historians and social scientists interested in historical studies. Yet the AHA and its committee must be congratulated for their flexible initiative in starting this kind of inventory. One is inclined to compare this outward-looking scholarly thrust with that of the AHA in its second and third decades, when European archives were combed for materials relating to American history. Then, too, historians were somewhat defensive in the face of self-confident social scientists. J. Franklin Jameson wondered what subsequent generations of historians would make of the mountains of source material uncovered in his day. When Turner suggested that Jameson turn to the writing of economic history, the latter demurred with considerable insight into the nature of unexploited source materials for social and economic history.

I have always thought it much more difficult to document, with any sense of security, the social and economic history of the U.S. than the political or constitutional. You do not have definitely limited bodies of materials, handed down

<sup>12</sup> See F. J. Fisher, "Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Dark Ages in English Economic History?" *Economica*, n.s. 24 (1957): 2-18.

by authority, like statutes or other manageable series, but a vast lot of miscellaneous material from which the historian picks out what he wants, and so the effort to document must often be a process of selection, always open to the suspicion of being a biased selection, or one made to sustain a set of views.

Elsewhere he referred to the documentary materials for social and economic history as "voluminous masses of low-grade ore, from which to get a little gold."<sup>13</sup> The first editor of the *AHR* saw the problem with which recent proliferation of finer statistical tools and the computer are beginning to offer some assistance.

The volume edited by E. A. Wrigley of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure in England consists of detailed, technical essays designed to assist the researcher tackling the British decennial census volumes or the census manuscripts for 1841, 1851, and 1861. The 1871 manuscripts have been opened since the book was prepared. The only general methodological paper, by Roger Schofield, is an introduction to "Sampling in Historical Research." Articles by Michael Drake, Michael Anderson, Peter Tillot, and Alan Armstrong deal with the scope and inaccuracies of the census and recommend procedures for using the enumerators' books. Papers about methods for using census material in studies of the family by Michael Anderson, of net overseas emigration from Britain by Dudley Baines, and of education by B. I. Coleman, as well as a survey of the statistics of crime by V. A. C. Gatrell and T. B. Hadden, attest to the quantitative work in social history currently being undertaken in Britain where sophisticated statistical procedures are more in evidence than they are among British economic historians, many of whom feel a discreet hesitation to place a weight of sophisticated models on raw material probably inferior to that available for the American economy in the nineteenth century. In social history the quantitative study of demographic and social structure is attracting resources, but the study of social mobility in the nineteenth century has barely begun, if indeed the study of the anonymous can ever proceed very far in the absence of fuller local directories.

TAKEN TOGETHER, the volumes under review, which can now rightly be described as only the tip of the iceberg, in Britain and the United States at any rate, provide evidence not only of considerable achievement but also of a number of areas of research in which historians are deeply engaged, wrestling with problems of the trustworthiness of the data, the best means of handling it to test their ideas, and the ambiguities of the tests applied.

<sup>13</sup> J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Historian's Raw Materials* (Ann Arbor, 1923), 45; Jameson to Frederick Jackson Turner, Nov. 25, 1927, and Jameson to M. W. Jernegan, Mar. 13, 1931, both in Jameson, *An Historian's World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson*, ed. Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock (Philadelphia, 1956), 327, 340.

As Charles Tilly writes, he would like to "consider us all converts. There the work begins."<sup>14</sup>

Unless things have changed very much since these books were published, the quantifiers appear to be still on the defensive, vis-à-vis both other historians and the social scientists. Aydelotte refers to discussion that "has occasionally been acrimonious" and to the "current offensive against quantification."<sup>15</sup> The editors of *The Dimensions of Quantitative History* show a wistful candor about the difficulties of communication at the conferences in which traditional historians and statisticians were invited to discuss the essays in quantitative history. "A historian who tries to bridge this gap is sometimes left dangling in between and has trouble in making effective contact with specialists in either direction, with exactly the two professional groups who should, properly, be able to help him most."<sup>16</sup>

The problems of communication, if not the acrimony, are likely to persist until university graduates are as well versed in mathematics as nineteenth-century students were in Latin. The strident tone of some of the early missionaries of this generation of quantifiers put people's backs up as much as did Charles Beard in his day, though now clearly with less disastrous results for the type of history being advocated. Lee Benson's book gives plenty of instances of somewhat gratuitous insults to the whole historical establishment. But even the more diplomatic Professor Aydelotte aims his shafts rather indiscriminately at historians-in-general.<sup>17</sup>

Linked with the early tone, which seemed to discredit antecedents rather than acknowledge debts to them, were the claims of "newness"—in both methods and results. Take but two examples from the field of economic history. British economic historians at first thought that the brash young Americans were trying to teach their grandmothers to suck eggs. Sir John Clapham had long since demonstrated that counting where possible could clear up some rather important matters. So also, when Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer first wrote about the profitability of slavery, they did not emphasize the fact that some historians had already questioned U. B. Phillips's view that it survived in spite of its unprofitability. An emphasis on the novelty of current scholarship can make teaching more interesting for the teacher as well as stimulating to the student. I well remember the intellectual excitement in the classroom when the new Keynesian economics was taught at Cornell when I was a graduate student. But I suggest that it is neither scholarly nor truly scientific in spirit to play this game in academic literature, and it may indeed rob students of

<sup>14</sup> Charles Tilly, "Quantification in History, As Seen from France," in Lorwin and Price, *Dimensions of the Past*, 95.

<sup>15</sup> Aydelotte, *Quantification in History*, 35, 60.

<sup>16</sup> Aydelotte, Bogue, and Fogel, introd., *Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, 7-8. See also Aydelotte, *Quantification in History*, 169-70.

<sup>17</sup> Benson, *Toward the Scientific Study of History*, 240, 271, 279, 287, 305; Aydelotte, *Quantification in History*, 15-17.

insight into the way in which scholars build upon each other's work in extending knowledge even with the most exciting new techniques. The volumes on "dimensions" indicate that in this respect the new economic and quantitative history have come of age. The editors note that James Malin used the census-enumerator books in the early thirties for mobility studies, that Orin Grant Libby recognized in 1896 the "possible value of an intensive study of roll calls," that Crane Brinton and Donald Greer were quantifying groups in French revolutionary studies in the thirties, and so forth.

Some of the resistance has no doubt arisen because historians were unequipped to undertake the new sorts of quantitative studies themselves or even to understand any longer, say, the pages of the *Journal of Economic History*. Professor Hexter seems to have taken the view in his interchanges with the "deaf" quantifiers that it was impossible to write both mathematics and English, that quantification would destroy history as literature. One does not have to agree that historians have a monopoly of good style to regret that Charles Tilly did not translate his large computer categories, such as "Not Acting Collectively before Disturbance," or "Collective Action Not Clearly Connected with Disturbance," into the more specific instances that were coded only to be absorbed in the larger categories. And Allan Bogue, whose work I admire enormously, perpetrates the following sentences:

A centroid factor analysis shows that two factors account for most of the variance in the table of correlation. The committee power index loaded more heavily than any other variable on the second of those extracted. Clockwise orthogonal rotation to maximize this loading produced the loadings shown in Table 2. The impression of clustering derived from the correlations is reinforced.<sup>18</sup>

It is illuminating to notice that the surveys of quantification in Germany, France, Scandinavia, and Japan revealed no such resistance to quantification as had been stirred up in America. The writers of these surveys also assume that even in America the battle has long since been won in economic and demographic history. The basis on which quantification has been absorbed in some fields and some countries can be distinguished. One-dimensional descriptive statistics are not new. Two-dimensional figures drawn from the sources, such as time series, raise no objections. Even when one moves on to index numbers, correlations, and regression analysis, so long as they are based upon numbers drawn from historical sources or samples drawn from them, and even when surrogates such as wholesale prices are used for retail prices in a cost-of-living index, one can expect little resistance from people working on problems for which such tech-

<sup>18</sup> Charles Tilly, "How Protest Modernized in France, 1845-1855," in Aydelotte, Bogue, and Fogel, *Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, 222, 224; Bogue, "Some Dimensions of Power in the Thirty-Seventh Senate," in *ibid.*, 307.

niques are helpful. William McGreevey refers to the "European style" of quantification, which "builds the corpus of available data, but neither the utility nor the direction in which such data are augmented is determinate, since there are few hypotheses to direct the work."<sup>19</sup> Actually Aydelotte argues for no more than counting or measuring when possible, a position that should require no defense.

Resistance to testing formal models has come not only from ignorance but also from suspicion of the synthetic figures extrapolated, guessed, and sometimes borrowed from another period of time or another place to fulfill the requirements of the model.<sup>20</sup> On similar grounds counterfactual hypothesizing has been somewhat less than welcomed, particularly as some of the early uses made of such models projected the alternative worlds for a half century or more.<sup>21</sup> As David Landes writes, the political arithmeticians of seventeenth-century Britain "had recourse from the start to estimated means, population estimates and multipliers in order to arrive at aggregate figures. . . . The trouble with Petty's work was that he wanted to make a point—a characteristic affliction of all social scientists—and that his method gave him too much free rein."<sup>22</sup> In his article on Spanish sources Juan J. Linz points to some contemporary estimates, by just such political arithmeticians that influenced contemporaries and that historians use at their risk.<sup>23</sup> Thus synthetic figures are not new, though as they are refined with more attention to the historical context and available raw data, as well as to the requirements of models, it is hoped that historians will show less resistance to this kind of quantification.

THE WRITERS IN THESE VOLUMES are willing to concede most of the points that have been raised by the critics of quantification "American style." Some practitioners have used jargon or been otherwise unintelligible or clumsy in their writing. It is agreed that the traditional historical method of source criticism should be applied to all data used in quantitative studies. The problems that can be tackled quantitatively are limited in scope, and some exercises have indeed been trivial. Apart from Lee Benson, who

<sup>19</sup> William McGreevey, "Quantitative Research in Latin American History of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Lorwin and Price, *Dimensions of the Past*, 485.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*; Charles Tilly, "Quantification in History, As Seen from France," in *ibid.*, 110–11, 125; Louise A. Tilly, "Materials of the Quantitative History of France since 1789," in *ibid.*, 138–39; Benson, *Toward the Scientific Study of History*, 116–17. See also E. H. Hunt, "The New Economic History: Professor Fogel's Study of American Railroads," *History*, 53 (1968): 3–18.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth: Essays in Econometric History* (Baltimore, 1964); John R. Meyer, "An Input-Output Approach to Evaluating British Industrial Production in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, eds., *Studies in Econometric History* (London, 1965), 183–213.

<sup>22</sup> David Landes, "Statistics As a Source for the History of Economic Development in Western Europe: The Protostatistical Era," in Lorwin and Price, *Dimensions of the Past*, 55.

<sup>23</sup> Juan J. Linz, "Five Centuries of Spanish History: Quantification and Comparison," in *ibid.*, 233.

seems to be chasing a nineteenth-century will-o'-the-wisp, they make no claims to finality or certainty. They warn against spurious precision.<sup>24</sup>

Above all, the weight of opinion in these volumes favors mixed methods of historical research, not an excessive reliance on quantification. "It is absurd, however, to contend that there is any exclusive road to knowledge, that intellectual rigor can be achieved only by the use of figures, or that the value of research depends on the kinds of techniques used rather than on the intelligence with which they are applied."<sup>25</sup> In *The Dimensions of the Past* are cited a number of instances of quantitative estimates, based upon historical sources, that have not gained credence because they are at odds with "qualitative" knowledge.<sup>26</sup> Michael Anderson emphasizes that quantitative work on the British census is of no value without an extensive use of contemporary descriptive sources that suggest questions to be asked of the sample data. The strength of Allan Bogue's essay on power in the Thirty-seventh Senate lies precisely in the diversity of means by which he has approached the problem. Where the personal papers, memoirs, and memorial addresses in Congress do not support unambiguously the quantitative identification of Senators Doolittle and Clark as powerful figures, he concedes that they remain somewhat enigmatic.<sup>27</sup>

Not all the writers in *The Dimensions of Quantitative History* have so successfully practiced what they preached. At the risk of appearing to niggle in the face of arduous labors that have added to our knowledge, I would suggest that Charles Tilly, Aydelotte, and Thernstrom have not succeeded in mixing methods but present mainly an account of the gathering and manipulation of their quantitative data.<sup>28</sup> It is a bit disturbing to have Professor Aydelotte tell us that one must follow a policy of "rigid exclusion" of all facts, however interesting, that cannot be tabulated or on which insufficient information is available, though he does save the day by conceding that such facts might be referred to in the text.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the feature that most worries the lone historian about large quantitative

<sup>24</sup> Aydelotte, *Quantification in History*, 3, 27, 29, 30, 34-35, 47-48, 55, 59, 80, 83, 94, 95, 151, 175; Aydelotte, Bogue, and Fogel, introd., *Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, 9, 10; Michael Anderson, "The Study of Family Structure," in Wrigley, *Nineteenth-Century Society*, 52.

<sup>25</sup> Aydelotte, *Quantification in History*, 14, see also pp. 36-37, 56, 175; and Landes, "Statistics As a Source," in Lorwin and Price, *Dimensions of the Past*, 65.

<sup>26</sup> See Phyllis Deane's first estimates of British national income in the eighteenth century and the controversy over J. C. Toutain's estimates for French agriculture in the eighteenth century, discussed by Landes, "Statistics As a Source," in Lorwin and Price, *Dimensions of the Past*, 58-59, 73-74; see also Landes's criticism of François Crouzet's use of French trade statistics for the eighteenth century in *ibid.*, 64. Also see the "rumblings in the rice fields" controversy about Japanese agricultural output, in Kozo Yamamura and Susan B. Hanley, "Quantitative Data for Japanese Economic History," in *ibid.*, 511-13.

<sup>27</sup> Bogue, "Some Dimensions of Power in the Thirty-Seventh Senate," in Aydelotte, Bogue, and Fogel, *Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, 310-11.

<sup>28</sup> My criticism of Gerald Kramer's and Susan Lepper's study of congressional voting would be more severe, since they have removed the time dimension from their regressions. "Congressional Elections," in *ibid.*, 256-84.

<sup>29</sup> Aydelotte, *Quantification in History*, 146.



studies that have attracted generous funds is the difficulty any other historian has in checking the reliability of the data, especially when the counts have been generated for the first time, either totals or samples, in the course of the research. It is not an answer to say that other samples from other times and places will confirm or reject the findings. That quantifiers are themselves conscious of the problem is evident in their references to the "trained readers" they employ and their careful instructions to assistants, in their acceptance of a fair amount of error, and in the caution shown about what should be fed into data banks. If "the rawer the better" is a good motto for choice of statistics, how does one tag the data to include the bias and inappropriateness of sources and the policies and aims of institutions and persons generating the raw data? These problems arise as soon as one moves out of the firm ground of votes in elections and legislative assemblies.<sup>30</sup>

Such doubts by no means inhibit one from accepting the modest and reasoned claims of the quantifiers considered here as to the value of such work for historians. In certain fields such as economic and demographic history and in the study of large social groups in the past the effort to quantify is essential. Statistical methods make it possible to handle large masses of data otherwise closed to the historian and to test explanations within the limits of probability. Even the most skeptical of the "old" economic historians will now recognize the spin-off in clearer analysis and greater rigor of research, though these ends were not innovations of the new wave of quantifiers. Some of the most valuable work has been destructive—for example, Thernstrom's finding that residential segregation does not explain differential rates of social mobility in Boston, or Shapiro's and Dawson's retreat to a near rejection of Tocqueville's hypothesis that opportunities for ennoblement provided an adequate explanation for attitudes of the French bourgeoisie, or the Hollingsworths' demonstration that explanations of levels of urban expenditure on an aggregate basis look very different when examined region by region. In the end the worth of scholarship depends on the integrity and insight and knowledge of the scholar. Controversy, even personal rivalries, have not proved obstacles to the extension of knowledge.

Insofar as these controversies are about substantive issues, the center of the storm is not so much whether or not to quantify but about the nature of historical knowledge and inquiry. The rift still concerns that relationship between history and the social sciences that began with their births as separate disciplines.<sup>31</sup> Quantification has gotten mixed up with the underlying differences in outlook because the new methods came in

<sup>30</sup> On means of surmounting this problem in the future, see Swierenga, "Computers and American History," 1066.

<sup>31</sup> For a view quite different from Lee Benson's present position, and one that I find more congenial, see H. Stuart Hughes, "The Historian and the Social Scientist," *AHR*, 66 (1960-61): 20-46.

by way of the social sciences. Lee Benson's typology is helpful here. He lists four sorts of history: history as literature or entertainment; history as "identity," the study of the past to answer individual or group needs; history as philosophy, "to help liberate men from parochial outlooks and give them the widest possible range of choice of 'values to live by'"; and history as social science, "to contribute to the overall scientific study of human behaviour"—not simply to advise decision makers, but to give human beings knowledge to make rational choices.<sup>32</sup>

While there may be pragmatic reasons for identifying history as a social science and the will to do so may reflect another period of loss of confidence among historians, there is still a difference between history and the social sciences in the nature of the inquiry, a difference that explains the controversy and the difficulties of communication. The social scientist is searching with an instrumental purpose for general, overarching laws about mankind. He is looking at the past for regularities and similarities and is willing to raid it for materials to test theoretical models drawn in the present. In contrast, the aim of many historians is to understand the past in its own terms as well as ours. If there is an instrumental purpose, it is more indirect, as in Benson's definition of the philosophical historian. As has so often been said, the historian focuses on the uniqueness of past time and place and human behavior, the historical context. He seeks to understand what differentiates us and our problems from those of our predecessors.

Louise A. Tilly pinpoints the difference in view when she discusses the "grand debate" in French economic history—"a division between those who are mainly interested in borrowing procedures from the social sciences in order to understand French history better and those who are more concerned to test general sociological hypotheses by the case of France."<sup>33</sup> Professor Aydelotte reveals his own social-science orientation when he confesses, "The issues of British politics of a century and a quarter ago are now dead, and I can muster little enthusiasm for them. On the other hand, the votes and debates on these questions can be used to shed light on certain theoretical problems, the nature of political attitudes and why men hold them."<sup>34</sup>

This is not to say that individuals may not enter upon historical inquiries by way of the social sciences or that historians may not become social scientists. The two sorts of inquiry cannot really be elided, and it would be

<sup>32</sup> Benson, *Toward the Scientific Study of History*, 199.

<sup>33</sup> Louise A. Tilly, "Materials of the Quantitative History of France since 1789," in Lorwin and Price, *Dimensions of the Past*, 139.

<sup>34</sup> Aydelotte, *Quantification in History*, 160. See also Aydelotte, Bogue, and Fogel, introd., *Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, 45, and the statement by Kramer and Lepper that they study elections in the past "since they may help to explain the political dominance of particular groups in society, the electoral benefits to an incumbent of pursuing a particular policy, or the political consequences of proposed or possible changes in political structures and procedures." "Congressional Elections," in *ibid.*, 256.

impoverishing if one or the other were to disappear. Historians will want to extend themselves and their knowledge of the present by reading social-science theory, but they are likely to remain selective and eclectic in dealing with men and motives in other times and circumstances. In turn, the social scientist will use historical works as well as historical sources. For good social science, one needs historical scholars who do try to understand the historical context, who have been trained in the methods of critical use of sources, even if they are no more than common sense, to check the inferences from the data and sometimes even to criticize the guesses of an impatient social scientist who has not been seduced by the allurements of Clio.

---

## Reviews of Books

---

### GENERAL

GÉZA ALFÖLDY *et al.*, editors. *Probleme der Geschichtswissenschaft*. (Geschichte und Gesellschaft: Bochumer historische Studien.) Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Swann. 1973. Pp. 176.

Generous editorship and a vague title made it possible to reunite in this collection nine papers by Bochum historians, greatly differing in content and quality. Seemingly, the editors aimed at the existential problems of history to be discussed by representatives from different fields and more than half the papers fall into this category. Thus, Rudolf Vierhaus provides a characterization of history in general, emphasizing "structures" as the main objects of elucidation and the main factors of continuity, linking the past with the present and revealing the latter's historicity. Géza Alföldy justifies ancient history in three detailed statements: (1) its structures can indeed be perceived, despite the often fragmentary character of its sources; (2) it is an integral and necessary part of general history, both by reason of the structures it elucidates in which Western civilization originated and by the outstanding methodological experiences and contributions it offers; (3) it is useful and relevant to modern society in that it raises consciousness and critical perception by providing depth perspective and "alternative models" for comparison. Ferdinand Seibt adduces similar terms to demonstrate the relevance of medieval history, pointing out in addition how a widespread, if often unconscious, popular interest in history contradicts the "crisis of history" in schools and universities. Hans Mommsen's *Betrachtungen zur Entwicklung der neuzeitlichen Historiographie in der Bundesrepublik* describes the motives, failures, and achievements of German historians from 1945 to 1973 as well as their clashes about the character and use of

historical studies. His fascinating account of how a country, steeped in history and philosophy and open to all modern intellectual and methodological currents, tries to come to grips with one of the greatest historical shocks experienced by any nation is certainly the most valuable essay of this collection and of particular interest to American historians for comparative purposes.

Other contributions include an introductory lecture in prehistory, an outline of research done on early medieval aristocracy, a study on the relation between autocracy and anarchy, remarks on the history of science and economy in the eighteenth century, and a summary of trends in twentieth-century German economic history.

Most of the papers have in common a healthy emphasis on *Strukturen*, occasionally expanded to more dubious *Gesetzmässigkeiten* reminiscent of Marxism. The leftist student rebellion that swept through the history departments in Germany has left its marks: the call for increased emphasis on socioeconomic factors is ubiquitous. The fact that it is not monotonous leaves the field open to a lively, ongoing discussion.

MICHAEL P. SPEIDEL  
*University of Hawaii*

EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE. *Le territoire de l'historien*. (Bibliothèque des histoires.) [Paris:] Gallimard. 1973. Pp. 542.

This collection of twenty-nine pieces by the author of *Les paysans de Languedoc* (1966), among other works, includes book reviews for newspapers such as *Le Monde*, chapters from collaborative volumes, an encyclopedia entry, reports read at professional meetings, and articles from various periodicals—the *Annales*, of which he is a director, naturally being prominent among them. We are thus presented with little

that is not already in print (the conference papers being the exception), but we are given the chance conveniently to survey both the range and the several principal themes of Professor Le Roy Ladurie's work over roughly the past decade.

In his foreword he stakes out these themes or, as he calls them, "provinces" of his historical territory: first, the "material, sociological, cultural history of rural civilizations" in modern times; second, "serial and quantitative history," statistically based and applied, for example, to demography; third, "interdisciplinary zones," where history can draw upon the methods and materials of fields as diverse as ethnography, economics, physiology, meteorology, even glaciology. Throughout he stresses his debt to the computer, though he sensibly observes that "in history, as elsewhere, what counts is not the machine, but the problem" (p. 11).

It is impossible in a short review to do justice to the breadth of historical interest revealed by the present volume. Having identified his organizing themes, the author sets off energetically to pursue each through a variety of case studies. The longest entry is a fifty-page analysis of official statistics for French army recruits (1819-26), an elaborate recording of physical, occupational, and other data, with relatively little interpretation attached. Among the shortest, at almost the opposite end of the quantitative scale, are three reviews of books on sorcery and witchcraft by a Frenchman, an American, and a Spanish Basque, respectively. From the population of early modern Paris to the search, by radioactivity tests, for silver from Potosi in French and Spanish royal coinage, from agricultural productivity to climatology, our lively guide takes us backward and forward, in time, space, and choice of subject matter.

Of all the spokesmen for the Sixth Section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, the Parisian fortress and fire base for quantitative historians, Professor Le Roy Ladurie has long struck me as one of the most effective. In no sense a bigot, for all his zeal, he remains immensely good humored, supple, and fresh in his intellectual approach. He generally tries to get, and give, as much as he can from his data, in terms of conclusions at once significant and reasonable. And he does not just write about how his methodology might be used—he uses it. Not everyone will rely as heavily on those methods, but no one can any longer safely ignore them.

FRANKLIN L. FORD  
Harvard University

ARTHUR RAISTRICK. *Industrial Archaeology: An Historical Survey*. London: Eyre Methuen; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York, 1972. Pp. xiii, 314. \$18.75.

With the publication of this volume industrial archeology joins oral history, psychohistory, and quantitative methods as another research tool available to the historian. The author believes industrial archeology has emerged, over the last two decades, as a discipline primarily because of the work done by Michael Rix and Kenneth Hudson. Now Raistrick has given us a comprehensive survey of our past and present understanding of this subject, shown how it differs from social and economic history and the history of technology, and laid out in masterful detail the kinds of raw materials used in the processes and structures of past industry, as well as the varieties of evidence that remain for study.

The author has three biases that he does not hesitate to identify. First, he holds that earlier studies of industrial archeology, frequently to the point of excluding consideration of other eras and topics, emphasized the time period from the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution to the present and stressed machinery and mechanical power. Raistrick convincingly argues that there is a compelling need to record and preserve "the monuments" of industry from prehistoric and Roman times to the present. Second, because he lives and works in Yorkshire, many of his examples and illustrations, accumulated during a half-century as an engineer and university teacher in geology, are intentionally drawn from the North of England. He believes that ample evidences of coal and lead mining, textiles, transportation systems, iron and steel, and chemicals are found there. Third, Raistrick wonders whether the study of the machines, processes, and structures of nineteenth- and twentieth-century industry properly falls within the range of the industrial archeologist. Perhaps the extent of responsibility in these instances is to record their existence and over-all appearance. In the final analysis, however, the author perceives the role of industrial archeology as not merely to record remains "but to place industry in its proper environment and perspective as a continuing and developing theme in human endeavour."

The findings of the industrial archeologist are part of a people's national possession, cultural background, and evidence of their industrial progress. Hence, means must be available to display the results in regional, rural, company,

and industrial museums where the best techniques of preservation, restoration, and recording can be employed.

Illustrations, drawings, footnotes, and a bibliography adequately complement the readable text.

ROBERT E. CARLSON

West Chester State College

MARCELLE KOOY, editor. *Studies in Economics and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Professor H. M. Robertson*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 313. \$13.75.

The *Festschrift* has become an institution that requires examination. It is not good enough to put together a set of papers linked by nothing more than the fact that all the contributors have a desire to contribute to a particular celebration. A little over a third of this book deals with South Africa's history and its future: "Aspects of Economic Development in South Africa" by C. W. G. Schumann; "A Revisit with the Cape's Hottentot Ordinance of 1828" by Leslie Clement Duly; "The Evolution of Monetary Policy in South Africa" by Brian Kantor; and "South Africa's Salvation in Classic Liberalism" by W. H. Hutt. The rest of the book is concerned with a wide range of economic and historical problems that I could deal with only on the level of clarity and plausibility: "Population and Potential Power" by J. J. Spengler; "Considerations of some Aspects of the Rise of Capitalist Enterprise" by Frederigo Melis; "Considerations on the Industrial Revolution" by Amintore Fanfani (the latter two are both marred by allusiveness and by prose that is not easy to understand—the editor would well have exercised more control here); "Retardative Factors in French Economic Growth at the end of the *Ancien Régime* and during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Periods" by Shepard B. Clough; "Fluctuations and Growth in the 19th Century" by H. J. Habakkuk; and finally "Note on Secret Price Cutting in Oligopoly" by B. S. Yamey.

To return to the essays on South African history: Schumann's essay is difficult to assess because there is no clear statement of purpose. The article is divided into periods—"Pre Union," 1910–45, 1946–69—and ends with a discussion of "The Future." The latter section seems to be written on limited assumptions, particularly that of sustaining an immigration rate of 30,000 a year and that, given noninterference from outside, "the present quite remarkable state of comparative social and political

stability . . . can be maintained" (p. 22). Duly's essay—economics or economic history?—is a valuable corrective of the view that an ordinance passed is an ordinance applied. He writes: "For the Khoikhoi, the weakness in the colony's governmental system, the indifference . . . of officials, and the absence of an active role by London . . . merely emphasised the tremendous importance of the informal processes that were influencing Khoikhoi-European relations" (p. 46). Mr. Kantor's article on monetary policy soon becomes unintelligible because he assumes a knowledge of monetary theory on the part of the reader and includes long extracts from official reports that are not properly edited or explained. Finally, W. H. Hutt's article is neither economics nor economic history but a political sermon. Mr. Hutt has a complex scheme for the solution of South Africa's ills, based to some extent on a highly idiosyncratic reading of the "lessons of the history" of the United States in the past ten years or so. Starting from the unpopular but legitimate proposition that "the fears of the presently dominant Whites . . . are reasonable, realistic and genuine" (p. 111) he rapidly moves into an area of abstract blueprinting, including qualified franchise and the election of the president from and by the "Judiciary" (p. 113). Mr. Hutt has good points to make on the probabilities of increased tension once concessions begin to be made to those who have been discriminated against, but most of his prescriptions are remote from present or probable political contexts.

It is a pity that so distinguished a teacher and scholar as Robertson was not honored by a set of essays that either expanded on his own work or were at a level of generality to catch the interest of scholars in the social sciences. Included in the volume is a list of Robertson's works listed by year, most of them articles written since he came to South Africa in 1930. His historical work included a frequently cited pair of articles, "150 Years of Economic Contact between White and Black"; others were on land tenure at the Cape, systematic colonization, the historical evolution of South African wage levels, and settlers in Natal. In European history his works include *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism* (1933), "The Adam Smith Tradition" (his inaugural lecture, 1950), "Marx, Menger, Mercantilism and Max Weber," and "Researches in Italian Economic History of the Period of the Risorgimento." On South African problems he published a stimulating short book, *South Africa, Economic and Political Aspects*



(1957), as well as many articles on contemporary problems including those of the economics and history of the Second World War. One of the functions of a *Festschrift* ought to be to inform readers of the total corpus of an author's work, especially articles undeservedly forgotten. In this respect this work succeeds admirably, reminding us of the wide range of interest and steady contribution of a noted South African academic.

J. E. BUTLER  
Wesleyan University

EDUARD VAN DEN BRINK. *Rooms of katholiek: De opvattingen van Christopher Dawson over kultuur en religie*. (Academisch proefschrift, Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam.) Groningen: V. R. B. Offsetdrukkerij. 1970. Pp. 275.

Dr. van den Brink claims that Dawson was a great historian and compares him to Arnold Toynbee. But Pieter Geyl was not the only one to think that Toynbee's broad world views were *dwaasheid*, folly. Dawson was a prolific writer and a very good one; and this happens to be the third dissertation about him. Does this make him a great historian? Dawson took positions rather than doing primary research. And his positions—down with Byzantium, caesaropapism, Luther, communism, and the city; up with St. Thomas, papal monarchy, the Christian Renaissance, Mussolini (says van den Brink), and Western Civilization courses in the freshman year at American universities—are those of forty years ago. His work has aged badly in comparison with that of Gilson or Bloch, for example. Many of the themes happened to be wrong, and writing to any system does not seem to work any longer. Perhaps it has not worked since Anselm's day.

Dr. van den Brink, in this worthy and painstaking study, asks whether Dawson was a Roman or a Catholic, that is, whether he was narrowly sectarian or more broadly Christian in outlook. He concludes that the man was both. Perhaps it would have been useful to point out that the Church is now doing all it can to escape from the prison of Europe in general, and that of the thirteenth century in particular. It would also seem likely that if the present attempts to build a European community are to be successful, the economic and scientific themes that Dawson neglected will be at least as important as his cultural ones.

STEPHEN B. BAXTER  
University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

G. J. CUMING and DEREK BAKER, editors. *Popular Belief and Practice: Papers Read at the Ninth Summer Meeting and the Tenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. (Studies in Church History, 8.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 330. \$19.50.

This is a collection of twenty-six different essays by members of the British Ecclesiastical History Society. All have some relationship to what is described as popular religion within the Christian context. The essays are arranged chronologically with the first ones dealing with late Roman and early medieval topics, subsequent ones dealing with late medieval and Reformation topics, and the remaining half of the book dealing with early modern and modern topics. All of the authors wrote quite independently and for the most part they speak as specialists in some particular era of history. They have chosen topics in their field that pertain to popular religion. Some of the topics are extremely quaint. It is the rapid sequence of brief but specialized discussions that makes this a charming and fascinating book.

One must be somewhat arbitrary in citing particular items. For the medieval period there is a notable presentation by Marjorie E. Reeves of pictorial prophecies about the medieval popes (plates reproduce examples that are somewhat reminiscent of tarot cards). In the middle portion of the book the essay on Protestant spirituality by Gordon Rupp is one of the most substantial. Dr. Rupp writes with the depth and clarity of one who has devoted decades of research and reflection to his topic. One need not share his admiration of the reformers in order to be impressed and edified by what he has to say. For the modern period, the longest essay is W. R. Ward's presidential address dealing with developments in popular Methodism in the early nineteenth century. This essay does presuppose a rather technical knowledge of Methodism. The information communicated by this study is enhanced, however, by the fact that the essays immediately preceding and following touch on somewhat related matters. All of the essays are in English except one by A. Latreille, who provides an interesting discussion in French on the historiographical problems of evaluating popular religiosity in nineteenth-century France. The volume concludes in a most striking manner with a discussion by Stuart Mews of ecclesiastical attitudes toward black athletes in England and America during the twentieth century, especially as these related to Jack Johnson, the first black world-champion boxer. This exceptional essay provides a notable example of how

the disciplines of ecclesiastical history can be fruitfully applied to significant contemporary questions.

Having considered what this book is, something should also be said about what it is not. First of all it is not in any sense a systematic history of popular movements or popular developments within Christianity. Some of the essays only deal with popular religion in a most extended sense of the phrase. None of the essays deal with the kind of cults discussed, for instance, in V. Lanternari's *The Religions of the Oppressed* (1963). Nor do the authors allude to the study of Christian "people movements" as carried out by D. A. McGavran and his students. Considering that the greatest number of essays deal with England it is surprising that there is no discussion of the feasts and fasts, the prayers and carols, or the beliefs and superstitions of that majority of poor and humbler people nominally belonging to the Church of England. It remains, however, a very interesting volume.

H. BOONE PORTER, JR.  
Roanridge  
Kansas City, Missouri

ROGER BASTIDE. *African Civilisations in the New World*. Translated from the French by PETER GREEN. With a foreword by GEOFFREY PARRINDER. (Torchbook Library Edition.) New York: Harper and Row. 1971. Pp. vi, 232. \$12.50.

This short but stimulating study concerns African cultural survivals among blacks in the Americas. Roger Bastide, a professor of ethnology at the Sorbonne, employs both comparative and historical methods to present a wealth of factual material and analyses concerning the enduring aspects of African civilizations in the New World. His work is firmly based on French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and other language sources, and it is obvious that he has great knowledge and understanding of the cultures of blacks in the Americas, especially of their religions, and also of the African background. It is indeed surprising that Bastide's books were not translated into English earlier since he is one of the leading cultural anthropologists concerned with African civilizations in the Americas.

Bastide concludes that religion is the most spectacular African survival among blacks in the Americas although folklore is the most prevalent. On the other hand, the economic infrastructure is the weakest survival because it is the

most vulnerable to environmental factors. His discussion ranges from a consideration of isolated, self-sufficient communities where African civilization still survives almost intact to the syncretism and amalgamation of a variety of cultural traditions by blacks in the New World. African religious survivals provide material for the major discussion in the book and Bastide's clear and objective chapter on voodoo, which divests it of the clichés common in most writings on the subject, is a major contribution of his work. As Bastide points out, religious survivals are largely due to the ethnic associations that were permitted blacks even under slavery and that still exist today in large cities of Latin America. Because the religions of Africans from the Sudan and Guinea coast area were generally more systematized and complex, they endured better than those of the Bantu people taken as slaves from the Congo and Angola regions. Paradoxically, most African folklore survivals are of Bantu origin.

Bastide's careful research and rigorous analysis are unfortunately marred somewhat by occasional lapses of scholarship. An example is his sweeping generalization that "Africans have a passion for titles" (p. 29), which recalls the hackneyed and unscientific statements about German proclivity for militarism, Chinese inscrutability, etc. Bastide also does himself and his discipline a disservice when he gives support to the myth of the black man's sexual superiority by repeating the saying that Indian women in the New World gave themselves to Indian men out of duty, to Europeans for money, but to Negroes for pleasure (p. 74).

The merits of this study, however, far outweigh these shortcomings, and its contribution will be greatly appreciated by Africanists, Afro-Americanists, and all those concerned about the cause of racial understanding.

WILLIAM L. BOWERS  
Bradley University

M. R. D. FOOT. *War and Society: Historical Essays in Honour and Memory of J. R. Western, 1928-1971*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. xiv, 349. \$19.50.

This *Festschrift* is dedicated to a brilliant young English historian whose main interest was the study of war and its impact on society; hence the title of this volume.

In a touching tribute the editor describes the personality and accomplishments of John Randle Western, who studied at Oxford and Edinburgh and taught at Manchester. The essays,

contributed by his friends and colleagues, are arranged in chronological order and their topics cover a period of almost two thousand years. Three papers deal with the European, Asian, and domestic aspects of World War II and five treat World War I and its aftermath—the Irish Republican Army, the Liquor Control Board, Britain's relationship with India, South Africa in the war, and the impact of the war on Britain's political system. Three essays deal with nineteenth-century problems: conscription in Europe, the mid-Victorian army, and the naval militia. Other studies in the volume discuss military problems during the French Revolution, and the problem of revolution and revolt in early modern England, ancient Greece, and ancient Rome.

A volume containing studies as diverse as these is difficult to evaluate. Both subject matter and approach vary a great deal, which makes for fascinating reading but blurs the focus—a common weakness of *Festschriften*.

The essays of most interest to me were R. A. C. Parker's "The British Government and the Outbreak of the War with Germany 1939," and V. G. Kiernan, "Conscription and Society in Europe before the Great War." The former focuses on the often repeated charge that the two-day delay of the British declaration of war, following Germany's invasion of Poland, was but another indication of Chamberlain's appeasement policy. The author, relying heavily on hitherto unpublished sources, shows that it was French reluctance to fight Hitler, especially Bonnet's, coupled with the British cabinet's desire for solidarity with France, that produced the delay.

Mr. Kiernan's study deals with European conscription and its impact on society, from Spain to Russia. He sees a link between discipline in the armies and discipline in the factories and believes that once the bourgeoisie had grasped this connection, their fears of arming and training the masses were allayed.

Altogether this is a worthwhile collection and a fitting tribute to a dedicated teacher of history.

GEORGE O. KENT  
University of Maryland,  
College Park

RAM LAKHAN SHUKLA. *Britain, India and the Turkish Empire, 1853-1882*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House. 1973. Pp. xi, 262. Rs. 30.

As a detailed examination of Britain's policies toward the Turkish Empire in the mid-nine-

teenth century, Professor Shukla's work proposes to elucidate the motivation behind British policy. It also seeks to examine the origins of pan-Islamic sentiments among Indian Muslims, specifically, their sympathy for the Ottoman sultan-caliph, which flowered into an anti-British political movement in the early 1920s. Unfortunately the work does not succeed in either aim.

One must commend Professor Shukla for his careful gleaning of the British records of the period. Foreign Office correspondence, private papers, and records of the Foreign Department of the government of India. His detailed narrative, however, does not make up for the lack of analysis of the material. While he carefully runs through the differing opinions of various principal officials, Salisbury, Lytton, Ripon, *et al.*, there is very little attempt to analyze how these differences were resolved, in terms of what priorities. Was British policy toward Turkey dictated more by considerations of the European balance of power or by Indian considerations? The latter seems clearly indicated, yet Shukla, beyond recording differences between the government of India and the home government, does not go beneath the surface or clarify differing motivations.

The most interesting chapter of the book (ch. 6) is the one concerning British use of the caliphate. In it Shukla rather skillfully shows how the British played upon Indian Muslim sympathies for the caliph of Islam to further their own purposes. Unfortunately there are inconsistencies here. He implies that the pan-Islamic movement was all the Britishers' doing, but he has shown in a previous chapter that pro-Turkish sympathies already existed among Indian Muslims. There is much to be said for the argument that the British promoted pan-Islam, which later turned against them. But if it is a point worth making, it is worth making well. The difficulty is in treating Indian Muslim opinion as monolithic. The British records make that mistake, but Shukla, as an Indian, should not. In the mid-nineteenth century there were Indian Muslims who were pro-Turkish, others who were not. Further, those who looked with sympathy toward the caliph did so for a variety of reasons.

Shukla has failed because he relies too heavily on British records. The only place where Indian opinion is referred to, other than through British eyes, is in the appendix, where he summarizes the native newspaper reports (British abstracts of the vernacular press). He

should have included this source within the body of his study.

GAIL MINAULT  
University of Texas,  
Austin

R. V. SAMPSON. *The Discovery of Peace*. New York: Pantheon Books. 1973. Pp. xxiv, 205. \$6.95.

It is tempting to dismiss Sampson's polemic in the service of peace—a peculiar combination of scholarship and sermon—as a dated, simplistic, moralizing tract. Using an interesting (though ultimately unsuccessful) mixture of intellectual history, social psychology, and political theory, Sampson wants his audience to share his inner conversion that the only true path to peace, a path illuminated by Tolstoy and a few others, is the refusal of peoples to do evil or be violent. The achievement of peace depends solely on a general application of the gospel truth, “resist not evil, return good for evil” (p. xix). Liberal internationalists who worked for peace through law or organization were deluded; they ignored the common-sense truth that peace is a condition achieved by being peaceful. It was Tolstoy, for Sampson, whose vision penetrated the errors erected into orthodoxy and the truths consigned to indifference by those in power.

To achieve the self-control of the nonviolent personality, Sampson urges us to consider the nature of power, a subject he explored in his earlier book, *Psychology of Power* (1966). Defined as the urge of some men to control others, power varies little over time and clime in its dependency on coercion and violence; thus, it is morally illegitimate. In the final analysis, however, power is only effective because of popular acquiescence. Tolstoy understood that not even the authority and charisma of a Napoleon would have moved the wholesale slaughters introducing modern history without the willingness of followers. Fighting stopped when people stopped following or became exhausted. Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, characterized as “the death knell not just of kings but of power itself . . . a profoundly subversive book . . . much and deeply feared” (p. 125), is offered as the first great statement of modern consciousness on human liberty and survival.

The middle bulk of Sampson's book purports to explore the sources of Tolstoy's intellectual inspiration. De Maistre, Stendhal, Herzen, and Proudhon each receive a chapter summarizing their main ideas, but the total effect is awkward and superficial. Instead, the well-known

shortcomings of intellectual history in illustrating “influence” are glaringly revealed.

Most astonishing from a twentieth-century author is a discussion of power that totally ignores the nexus between economics and politics. *The Discovery of Peace* dramatizes the weaknesses of the psychological obsession overtaking serious social analysis. A methodological elitism and idealism emerge to obscure the author's courageous foray into the most serious issue facing humanity.

As a study of Tolstoy's intellectual background, this work jells badly. As a guide to correct political and moral habits, it will only convince those already in church.

SANDI E. COOPER  
Richmond College,  
City University of New York

CHARLES P. KINDLEBERGER. *The World in Depression, 1929–1939*. (History of the World Economy in the Twentieth Century, volume 4.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. 336. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$3.45.

Having slain a host of unicausal dragons in his *Economic Growth in France and Britain, 1851–1950* (1964), Charles Kindleberger is on a quest to destroy another. This time it is the turn of Milton Friedman and his famous view of the world depression as being born and bred in the United States alone and specifically in our failure to maintain an optimum supply of money. A better explanation, says Kindleberger, is that the international economy, severely troubled by the overhang of war debts and reparations and by worsening dissymmetries in trade, was deprived of the leadership it needed to cope with a crisis (the repercussions of the New York crash). He defines “leadership” as an ability “to set standards of conduct for other countries; and to seek to get others to follow them, to take on an undue share of the burdens of the system, and in particular to take on its support in adversity by accepting its redundant commodities, maintaining a flow of investment capital and discounting its paper.” Only Britain and the United States could perform such functions. But after 1929 Britain could not; and the United States would not, because of the mish-mash of counsel offered the president and the stultifying role of the “congressional rabble.”

The central interest of this book, however, is not its main thesis or the attacks on Friedman, Samuelson, Svennilson, Arthur Lewis, and others; it is rather the highly useful discussion

of the main financial and monetary events. After a running start in the 1920s, Kindleberger takes us through the depression decade year by year, dealing with investment, trade, money and security markets, and gold movements in the United States and Western Europe. The book is crammed with judicious insights concerning the motivations of the principal actors, insights based on memoirs as well as the works of economic historians. This is a work by an economist for historians, and historians will benefit greatly. There is not a single equation in the book, and the charts and tables are accessible enough for the most nonquantitative among us.

Social aspects of the depression have no place in this work; Kindleberger notes the omission, with regrets, in the preface. He pays little attention to the era's increasing concern for social welfare. Makers of national policy, however, were forced increasingly to turn their attention to domestic ("forgotten man") problems, and their commitment to international financial "leadership" was bound to weaken. Kindleberger's avoidance of social history may explain his painfully inadequate treatment of the Popular Front governments in France. Perhaps these topics will be treated in later volumes of the series, *History of the World Economy in the Twentieth Century*; Kindleberger's book, labeled volume 4, is the first to appear.

MARTIN WOLFE

*University of Pennsylvania*

DAVID W. WAINHOUSE, with the assistance of FREDERICK P. BOHANNON *et al.* *International Peacekeeping at the Crossroads: National Support—Experience and Prospects*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in cooperation with the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Studies, Johns Hopkins University. 1973. Pp. xi, 634. \$22.50.

The charter of the United Nations conferred on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and provided that an international armed force for its use would be created later under separate agreements. These agreements were never effected and when the first occasion arose when international peace was presumably endangered, the United Nations began a series of *ad hoc* arrangements that were referred to as peace observation, peace supervision, or peacekeeping forces. None of these forces was armed, save for self-defense, and none engaged in enforcement measures.

Mr. Wainhouse has prepared eight case studies of these activities under the United Nations,

two case studies under the authority of the Organization of American States, and one under the Arab League. In each instance the case study provides a brief historical background; an explanation of the organization and management of the peacekeeping force; the contributions of the various national states in personnel, logistics, and finance; a few relevant key documents; and a conclusion. Special attention is given to the contributions of the United States, and four chapters at the end of the study consider general problems of peacekeeping as they were manifest in the several case histories.

It is quite clear that each of the peacekeeping efforts was unique in the circumstances of its initiation, the factors of consent of the parties involved in the conflict, and the considerations that must enter into value judgments concerning success or failure. In the major conflicts in the Middle East, the United Nations was content to secure an end to hostilities but unwilling to provide the means to enforce its resolutions for a permanent settlement. And in West New Guinea, where for a time United Nations forces were in control of the disputed territory, a "peaceful solution" of the conflict between Indonesia and Holland was considered more important than the principles of justice and democracy for the people of West Irian. In all the instances of peacekeeping under the United Nations there was some constitutional conflict of authority between the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the office of the secretary general. Very often the mandate given to the secretary general was ambiguous because no clear directive could be agreed upon and he was obliged to improvise as best he could.

No brief review could do justice to the value of this study for it is a mine of information concerning peacekeeping experiences in the cases examined. It provides extensive statistics, maps and charts, observations on the attitudes and policies concerning peacekeeping of the various national states, references to documents and other sources of information, and constructive suggestions for future peacekeeping efforts.

RUHL J. BARTLETT  
*Fletcher School,  
Tufts University*

ANDREW W. CORDIER and WILDER FOOTE, editors. *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations*. Volume 3, *Dag Hammarskjöld, 1956-1957*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 729. \$22.50.

The third volume of the *Public Papers* covers the period of the Suez and Hungarian crises of



1956—the period of the United Nations' greatest activity. The successful handling of the Suez crisis demonstrated how the UN could best be used. After the British and French vetoed action by the Security Council, the problem was transferred to a Special Session of the General Assembly under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, which had been adopted in 1950 to circumvent the Soviet veto as in the Korean case. The General Assembly gave Dag Hammarskjöld almost blanket authority to establish a cease fire, create UNEF, arrange for the withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli troops, and undertake the task of reopening the Suez Canal. Recognizing and seizing the opportunities provided by the basically similar American and Soviet stands on the main issues, Hammarskjöld became the behind-the-scenes leader and manager of the UN's efforts.

Unlike the Korean War of 1950–53, where the so-called UN force was in reality an allied force under U.S. command, UNEF was the first truly international force with the secretary general exercising actual command under the rather general and imprecise mandate of the General Assembly. The Congo crisis of 1960–62 also led to the establishment of a UN force under the effective command of the secretary general, but it differed fundamentally from the Suez crisis in that the Soviet Union and the United States soon disagreed in their views and policies about the UN and of the secretary general's role and operations. In the Suez crisis, however, the USSR supported or went along with the UN's objectives and the secretary general's activities as long as these were consistent with Soviet policies in the area. In the Suez crisis the prestige and authority of the UN reached its apogee. As the editors of the book point out, the two months of November and December 1956 were the most innovative and fruitful in the world organization's history.

Although there are only hints of it in the volume, this period was also a watershed for Great Britain and France. The complete failure of their policies and of their efforts to take control of the canal by force marked the beginning of their decline in influence in the postwar world. The withdrawal of their armed forces was cloaked and facilitated by their being able to present it as a compliance with the will of the world community rather than as an ignominious defeat.

The papers on the creation and operation of the first UNEF in 1956 may be usefully compared with those of the second UNEF in 1973. Although Lester Pearson, the Canadian secre-

tary of state for foreign affairs was the one who first conceived the idea of a UN emergency force made up of small and middle powers, Dag Hammarskjöld was its chief architect, builder, and manager, and he operated with a minimum of guidance from either the General Assembly or the Security Council. The documents clarify that the questions of the duration of UNEF and of its withdrawal were never settled but that Hammarskjöld recognized that it could continue to operate in Egypt only with the consent of the host country. In case that consent was withdrawn, he would refer the matter to the advisory committee he had created with the General Assembly's assent. Since 1973, however, the Security Council, under the insistence of the USSR, has maintained tight control over the entire operation, including the continued operation of UNEF, which has been given a six-month renewable mandate. In addition, the secretary general has undertaken to obtain advance clearance from the Security Council for every policy decision. The United States and USSR are working much more closely in the Middle East crisis now than they did in 1956–57; they have learned and are avoiding the bitter lessons of the Congo crisis, where Soviet opposition put the whole future of UN peacekeeping and its financing in jeopardy and which resulted in the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld.

But while the UN was establishing a remarkable record of achievement in Suez, it was at the same time creating a sorry spectacle of failure in Hungary. It is true that it was the powerful and committed Soviet Union, rather than the distracted and wavering Britain and France, that sent massive armed forces into Hungary and was the defendant in the dock; but the failure of both the United States and the secretary general as well as of the membership as a whole to take any effective action, or even to make any really serious attempt to do so, raises many questions to which the present volume provides no answers. Historians can argue for years about the reasons for the total ineffectiveness of the UN in Hungary, which contrasted so vividly with its "finest hour" in Suez. As Hammarskjöld remarked at a later time, none of the member states, and in particular the great powers, was willing to take any stronger action in the Hungarian case. It is noteworthy that only some fifty pages of the volume are devoted to Hungary as compared with some three hundred pages to Suez.

The volume also contains the texts of statements and reports by the secretary general on



the manifold activities of the organization, such as economic and social problems, atomic energy, and human rights. One of its most valuable features is its documentation of the exposition and evolution of Dag Hammarskjöld's views of the charter and of the roles of the organization and of the secretary general in support of the charter provisions.

Unquestionably, however, the most interesting part of the book, at least to this reviewer, who was a minor participant in those exciting days, is the lucid and penetrating description by the editors of the factual historical developments that are illuminated by the secretary general's papers. Their commentary on and analysis of these developments are indispensable to an understanding of the complex activities and work of the United Nations.

WILLIAM EPSTEIN  
United Nations Institute  
for Training and Research

#### ANCIENT

V. M. MASSON and V. I. SARIANIDI. *Central Asia: Turkmenia before the Achaemenids*. Translated and edited with a preface by RUTH TRINGHAM. (Ancient Peoples and Places, volume 79.) New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972. Pp. 219. \$12.50.

There are few countries that take their archeology more seriously than the Soviet Union. Many sites have been excavated and much information recovered in recent years, but Soviet archeology has remained a closed book to Western prehistorians, both because so few of them read Russian and because many of the reports are published in severely limited editions that do not reach the West. Thus, a book such as the one under review is a welcome addition to the literature, regardless of its merits. That this happens to be a good book makes it even more welcome.

Starting with a brief introduction Masson and Sarianidi recapitulate the evidence for the various periods of Central Asian prehistory. There are chapters on the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic (Djeitun) periods, two chapters on the Chalcolithic, three on the Bronze Age, and one on the Early Iron Age. The material within the chapters is usually arranged in a paradigmatic manner. First the sites excavated and the resultant finds are presented. It is only then that the authors proceed to interpretive statements, generally without obvious overlays of ideological content. They are strongest when they deal with internal Central Asian matters. When they

search for parallels in the literature and when they refer to Western scholarship in the Near East much of their information is dated, and they seem unfamiliar with the work done in recent years in Near Eastern prehistory. Large distances are bridged by tenuous parallels, and modern anthropological theory seems to be largely ignored.

There are a number of other shortcomings in the book. The maps are inadequate, and there are not enough of them. The plates are clear, but they lack a scale, so that their usefulness is impaired. Finally, a chart or set of charts setting out the various periods and sites would have served as a useful guide to the reader unfamiliar with this area.

The translation by Tringham is readable and usually clear. If one can offer criticism here, it is that non-Russian names were not checked against the standard usage in the West, and would be somewhat confusing for the uninitiated. Thus Chesmi Ali is rendered as Chasma Ali, Susa as Suza, etc. Finally, D. E. McCown comes out as J. McCowan. But these are minor points in what is a very useful book. One hopes it is the first in a long series of works by Soviet scholars that will be available to scholars and students working in the West.

LOUIS D. LEVINE  
Royal Ontario Museum

RALPH S. SOLECKI. *Shanidar: The First Flower People*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971. Pp. xv, 290, x. \$8.95.

Nine Neanderthal skeletons were found during the excavations of Shanidar Cave in north-eastern Iraq. These discoveries alone suffice to make this one of the more important Paleolithic excavations of modern times.

Though Shanidar is important for other reasons as well, Ralph Solecki, the director of the excavations, concentrates in this book on the Middle Paleolithic period and on the discovery of these human fossils. The story is told in a popular style, with diversions to describe local geography, the wild and woolly Kurds, and life in and around the archeologists' camp. It is a personal narrative. For the archeologist it yields useful insights into the thought process of a famous colleague and contains information about Shanidar not readily available elsewhere. I am not sure just what the book provides the layman.

The narrative is uneven. At times the story bounces along with vigor and our interest is captured and held; at other times the author

loses us in repetitious descriptions of routine excavation. There is much romance in archeology. Yet it is difficult to maintain an absorbing narrative based solely on the discovery of things in the ground. As with all historical research, there are actually three exciting stages in the progress of archeological discovery: the uncovering of the objects themselves, the revelations that come with a detailed analysis of the things excavated, and, finally, the integration of the new data with the old to alter our overall understanding of a period in the past. The author deals with the second and third phases in the Shanidar story only briefly in his introductory chapter and in the last twenty-five pages of the book. When pollen analyses were done on the soil that had surrounded one of the Neanderthal skeletons, it was discovered that the body had been originally buried with flowers. This remarkable find forces us to rethink the whole question of the nature of man 60,000 years ago, and the book closes with a too brief chapter entitled, "Toward accepting Neanderthal man as our ancestor."

This is exciting stuff; a unique find, a clever bit of analysis, and a new perspective on the Middle Paleolithic. More of this and less brushing of bone in the ground would have made the book more stimulating and useful for the informed, nonprofessional reader.

T. CUYLER YOUNG, JR.  
Royal Ontario Museum

ANGEL CABO and MARCELO VIGIL. *Condicionamientos geográficos; Edad antigua*. (Historia de España Alfaguara, 1.) Madrid: Alianza Editorial Alfaguara. 1973. Pp. vii, 450.

This opening subdivision of a seven-volume survey of Spanish history plainly addresses itself not to the specialist but to a university and general lay audience. It fully lives up to expectations aroused by a series that includes contributions by A. Domínguez Ortiz and Miguel Artola, the general editor. In the third of the book allotted to the long-term geographical factors conditioning Spanish life through the ages, Angel Cabo examines with both insight and adequate statistics the peninsula's landforms, climates, and vegetation cover; the coastal, tableland, and sierra zones; the river systems; and ancient routeways. He skillfully relates all these factors to the regional diversities of Iberian agricultural, pastoral, mining, and industrial economies in prehistoric and historic times. More attention might have been paid to soils, grass-

lands, brushland (*matorral*, as important as forest in this immemorially pastoral land), rural settlement forms, and field systems, although urban centers are well covered; but this lack detracts little from an expert, informative account that takes due note of the constant interaction between landscape and society and is enriched by comparisons with other European countries—a planned feature of this series—on land use, sizes, and types of landholdings, crop yields, stockraising, and similar topics.

In his two-thirds of the volume, Marcelo Vigil with equal success views the human profiles of ancient Iberia. Three of eight chapters outline the prehistoric cultures, the impact of Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Greek penetration (with good comments on the native kingdom of Tartessos), and regional ethnography just before the Roman occupation. On this last subject Vigil is especially effective, replacing the usual time-worn generalities about the Iberian peoples as a whole with a succinct regional survey embracing the manifold differences in tribal life and cultural level, although he does surprisingly little with the Basques, reputedly still very much with us. Succeeding chapters take the story through the six centuries under Rome, with major reference to problems of Romanization, population changes, the henceforth basic road network, and economic, social, and political structures. Despite limitations of space, Roman Hispania is properly presented within the larger framework of Roman imperial civilization and in terms of recent scholarship in the field. Vigil ably illumines the distinctly partial success of the Romanizing process outside the cities, above all in the northern countrysides that were to constitute the bases of medieval Spain. Religious life, specifically as this relates to indigenous cults, the mystery religions, Sephardic Jewish origins, and the earlier evolution of the heresy-torn, rigoristic Hispanic Church, is less satisfactorily handled.

Those who, like Américo Castro, prefer to start Spanish history after 711 may wonder why this Alfaguara series, weighted as it is in favor of the modern period—three volumes to 1700, four to 1931—includes such a volume as this. But less committed minds will find this an excellent summary record, with selective bibliographies, of those fundamental telluric, ethnic, socioeconomic, and cultural forces without due acknowledgment of which the long history of Spain remains incomprehensible.

C. J. BISHKO  
University of Virginia

CLAUDE MOSSÉ. *Athens in Decline, 505–86 B.C.* Translated from the French by JEAN STEWART. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1973. Pp. 181. \$11.75.

This new book by the distinguished author of *La Fin de la Démocratie Athénienne* (1962) appears in an English translation, and apparently in translation only. The present subject is much broader in scope, dealing with political history as well as with social and economic developments, while instead of ending with the triumph of Philip it continues for another quarter of a millennium to the conquest by Sulla. Her views on the finality of Philip's victory are not modified, as the rubric "Chaironea and the end of Greek liberty" (p. 68) indicates. Why then does the author decide to recite the melancholy chronicle of frustration? At the very end we are given a reason: "All things considered, it is perhaps this intuitive awareness of the real problems and the impossibility of solving them which, across the gulf of time, gives such rare value to the history of the decline of Athens." In 1911 W. S. Ferguson described this same period in a monumental work, *Hellenistic Athens*. The reason he gives for ending with Sulla is worth remembering: "Athens had no future except as the seat of a great university, and this was but a modest one. High culture is a delicate plant. It thrives only in the keen air of a free country. In a hot-house it makes but a sickly growth" (p. 458). In part the difference in point of view reflects the contrast between the period before Sarajevo and our own. For Ferguson, the history of Athens after Alexander represents a successful holding action, the maintenance of a way of life; for Mossé, on the other hand, it represents a series of futile attempts to deal with an intolerable social situation. The sufferings of the underprivileged outweigh the cultural achievements of the famous city.

Any short account of a long period tends to be interpretive rather than factual, but the present work is usually well balanced. Occasionally this is not so, as when we read that Philip was "assassinated on the orders of Olympias, the wife he had repudiated" (p. 79). And this is an unfounded assumption. More misleading is the author's account of Demosthenes: "We must not attempt, as some have done, to make excuses for Demosthenes" (p. 89). She is speaking here of the Harpalus affair, yet her overall view of the great orator is one-sided. She does not take into account the new evidence, in the form of

a missing letter of Demosthenes convincingly reconstructed by J. A. Goldstein in *Letters of Demosthenes* (1968), which puts his conduct in a very different light.

Now and then one suspects an error has occurred in translating from the French. We are told of merchants who borrowed money in Athens and "shipped a load of wheat to Egypt" (p. 92). In point of fact they bought in Egypt, then sold the grain in Rhodes.

In general this is a readable and much needed book on a period too often neglected. The way in which inscriptions, passages from the orators, and essays (by Xenophon, Heraclides Criticus, and others) are woven into the text will send the reader to the sources, where he can make up his own mind about the author's conclusions.

TRUEDELL S. BROWN  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

PHILIP A. STADTER, editor. *The Speeches in Thucydides: A Collection of Original Studies with a Bibliography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 172. \$10.95.

In Greek literature the first author to compose speeches for his characters in what might be termed historical narrative was Homer, but in no historian proper are such speeches more important than in Thucydides. In early 1972 the University of North Carolina sponsored a colloquium on this topic, the papers of which are presented here.

To itemize, Immerwahr considers the concept of power or dynamis as a basic theme in Thucydides' work, especially in the speeches. Raubitschek analyzes the puzzling first speech of the Athenian ambassadors at Sparta, and Hammond takes up especially the speeches of Hermocrates to illustrate the interweaving of specific and general statements. Stahl treats the course of events and speeches in Books Six and Seven; McCoy discusses Book Eight in an essay that differs from the others in focusing mainly on the historical development there described. In a very thoughtful analysis Westlake relates the speeches to the preambles (or introductions) and postscripts with which Thucydides surrounds them; Stadter surveys Plutarch's use of Thucydidean speeches. West provides an introductory list of the speeches, totaling 141 if one includes the most indirect of discourse, and also a concluding bibliography. The latter is very

full but typographically difficult to use with ease.

No one directly treats the most famous Thucydidean speech, the Funeral Oration of Pericles, but in a most unexpected way the reader will find himself surprised and given food for thought. In Stadter's essay, that is, one perambulates gently over the apparently open and pleasant greensward of Plutarch's lives, only suddenly to find a land mine going off in the observation that Plutarch apparently did not think the oration genuinely Periclean. From direct citations in the *Moralia* Plutarch certainly knew this speech well; but as Stadter emphasizes, the biographer of Pericles bluntly asserted that "he has left nothing written except his decrees," does not cite the oration among the fragments then known of Pericles's speeches, and uses a decree to illustrate Pericles's spirit. Plutarch was, after all, more careful in evaluating his sources than appears on the surface; anyone who wishes to take the oration as truly Periclean must consider Plutarch's caution.

The quality of the contributors to this volume is high. Sometimes they throw light on various aspects of Thucydides's work; more often perhaps they illuminate the baffling majesty of its narrative and speeches. Westlake deserves the last word in his wise observation, "I often find myself tempted to try to penetrate the mind of Thucydides, but it is a most hazardous undertaking."

CHESTER G. STARR  
University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor

PIERRE BRIANT. *Antigone le Borgne: Les débuts de sa carrière et les problèmes de l'assemblée macédonienne*. (Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, volume 152. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, volume 10.) Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1973. Pp. 397.

Among the officers of Alexander the Great, Antigonus the One-eyed (ca. 383–301 B.C.) was one of the most prominent in the struggles among Alexander's successors as they fought to gain control of the conquered territories. Yet in one respect Antigonus has remained something of a mystery for lack of readily accessible evidence for an important period of his career, between the years 334 and 321 B.C. During these years, 333–323 B.C., he served as satrap of Greater Phrygia, a post in which he had the responsibility of keeping Alexander's communications open. Likewise he is mentioned for three victories over Persian forces after the battle of Issus. But there is a conspicuous lack of infor-

mation about Antigonus at this period—a silence that, it has been suggested, may be traced to the circumstance that Ptolemy, who wrote an influential history of Alexander's campaigns, was a bitter enemy of Antigonus in the wars among the successors.

The present study, which is devoted to the history of the years 334–321 B.C., brings a distinguished contribution. The author, who is a member of the faculty of ancient history at the University of Tours, provides a painstaking examination of the evidence, literary, epigraphical, and papyrological, which, in addition to clarifying the events of the period, brings new light to the sources on which our knowledge depends.

An important part of the study is devoted to a detailed investigation of the political and juridical role of the "assembly of the army," that is, the Macedonian troops, which were in fact the only stable political element that was capable of intervening in the power vacuum created by Alexander's death. This inquiry includes a renewed consideration of the debated problem of the existence, in the distinctive Macedonian political system, of an "assembly of the people" alongside the "assembly of the army."

The critical account of the sources and the valuable bibliography enhance the value of the book. The work is a thorough and judicious treatment of a difficult passage in history that will be indispensable to scholars and will not easily be superseded.

GLANVILLE DOWNNEY  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

ALAN CAMERON. *Porphyrius the Charioteer*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 286, 31 plates. \$19.25.

The values of any society are evident in its choice of heroes. As Norman Baynes noted, the heroes of the Byzantine world were the ascetic saint and the victorious charioteer. Both were victors in a strenuous struggle, the last exemplars of the Hellenic contest spirit. Much has been written about the athletes of God, less on the heroes of the Hippodrome who were idolized by fanatic fans, the famed Greens and Blues of Constantinople. Alan Cameron has remedied this lack with a scholarly study of the most renowned charioteer, Porphyrius (also known as Calliopas), who delighted the racing crowds for several decades in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Thirty-two epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* celebrate the glory of the first driver

to have his statues erected in the Hippodrome, next to those of emperors, while still competing in the races. The bulk of this book is a critical analysis of the epigrams and a careful study of the inscriptions on the bases of the monuments. As such, the work is detailed and scholarly, a credit to British classicism. Cameron also cites the *Guinness Book of Records* on cricketers and jockeys, and he appreciates the merits of Robert Graves's novel *Count Belisarius*. The great general, it will be remembered, married the daughter of a charioteer, and the most famous woman of the Circus demimonde, Theodora, "hooked a future emperor."

An extraordinary driver who still raced at the age of sixty, Porphyrius was a favorite of both Blues and Greens. As champion of the Greens, he led his fans in a pogrom against the Jews of Antioch in 507, and at Constantinople he helped rally support for the Emperor Anastasius during the revolt of Vitalian in 515. The bond of the crowd-pleasing Porphyrius with the unpopular Anastasius adds weight to Cameron's thesis that the monarch began the practice of allowing statues of champion drivers to divert the energies of the rival factions from rioting to fund raising. The cunning Anastasius (who incidentally was a Red) prompted Porphyrius to change his colors frequently in order that both Greens and Blues could glory in his victories. In 498 beast games were banned, and in 507 pantomimes were forbidden. Hence, the races were the focus of popular interest, but the feverish atmosphere of the Circus was explosive and the intensive rivalry of the factions often erupted in serious riots. After overreacting to earlier disorders, the emperor seems to have solved the problem with the Porphyrius cult. What emerges from Cameron's detailed arguments is an important re-evaluation of the role of the Circus factions, which previous writers have assumed were politicized groups representing social, economic, and religious interests. "There is not a scrap of evidence for such hypotheses—and much against," he asserts in a valuable final chapter.

In a forthcoming book, *Circus Factions*, Cameron will explore this significant topic from the Augustan era to the tenth century. While the Porphyrius book may be formidable to non-specialists, *Circus Factions* should be of great interest to social historians and students of popular violence. This reviewer is looking forward to it.

THOMAS W. AFRICA  
State University of New York,  
Binghamton

## MEDIEVAL

ROBERT DELORT. *Life in the Middle Ages*. Translated by ROBERT ALLEN. Lausanne: Edita Lausanne; distrib. by Universe Books, New York. 1973. Pp. 345. \$35.00.

The author intends this volume "for all those who, though not historians, are interested in medieval society . . . [also] for those who want to discover the traces of the Middle Ages that still remain in the technology, religion and mentality that make up our daily life at the present time. . . ." (foreword). That he will succeed in arousing the interest of the general reader, even that of the scholar, is reasonably certain, given the abundance of excellent illustrative materials that graces the volume. These illustrations afford the reader a sharper impression of what life was like in the Middle Ages than most texts could, including the book under review. In the case of this volume that is not wholly regrettable since the author is overly ambitious in the number of topics he considers and also too anxious to make his statements as distinctive as his illustrations. His observation that "the population [of the Middle Ages] received fewer high-energy particles than we do today and that the sun is no longer quite the sun they knew" (p. 18) gives some notion of the broad sweep of his brush. There is, indeed, no facet of medieval life that passes him by—physical geography, agriculture, technology, travel, peasantry, townspeople, aristocracy, clergy, Jews, Crusades, standard of living, amusements, and what have you—although he finds little time for literature, thought, education, and popular piety. Among the more arresting of his observations is his statement that "a man was considered old at 35" (p. 59). This is nonsense. He bases this figure on the presumed life expectancy of the period, which was actually almost as high then as ca. 1800 when, according to Edward Gibbon (*Autobiography*), most children were still predeceasing their parents—and who would have called George Washington an old man at thirty-five! Except that the reader should beware of gulping down similar affirmations that the author throws out on such a wide variety of subjects, it would be unjust to cite his statement about being old at thirty-five since the substance of what he offers accords with the views of many scholars.

JOSEPH DAHMUS  
Pennsylvania State University

JOHN T. MCNEILL. *The Celtic Churches: A History, A.D. 200 to 1200*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 289. \$10.00.



It is a pleasure to have another book from the pen of John T. McNeill, long known as a historian of the church. The present work draws upon a lifetime of experience and at the same time shows familiarity with the current literature. The author writes clearly and agreeably, producing a very readable narrative history that will entertain and will also serve as a textbook and as a reference book. It replaces Gougaud as the standard reference work for those interested in the history of Celtic Christianity.

McNeill begins by a summary of the early history of the Celts and of British Christianity, goes on to study the Christianization of Ireland and Irish monasticism, and then discusses the contributions of Irish Christianity in missionary work, ecclesiastical institutions, art, and letters. The last chapters deal with the extensive Irish influence on the Continent. Throughout, the greatest attention is paid to the lives of individual saints, which, the author asserts, form the most important part of the history of Celtic Christianity.

This emphasis means that other ways of treating the question do not receive adequate attention. One looks in vain, for example, for sociological or political analysis, and occasionally explanations lead nowhere: the Celtic church had no well-articulated institutions, we are told, because the Celts had no genius for organization. The book also lacks dimension in the history of ideas: there are several discussions of *peregrinatio* without reference to Gerhart Ladner's brilliant article "Homo Viator." Occasionally there is a strange mixture of critical analysis and uncritical narrative. The section on St. Patrick, for example, begins with a clear discussion of the current state of research but then concludes with an uncritical, semihagiographical narrative of the saint's life.

With only a few lapses, however, the documentation, notes, and bibliography are up to date. In the future, more analytical historians of the Celtic church will need to use this book and will value it.

JEFFREY B. RUSSELL  
University of California,  
Riverside

GEOFFREY ASHE. *Camelot and the Vision of Albion*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1971. Pp. 233. \$5.95.

RICHARD BARBER. *The Figure of Arthur*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1973. Pp. 160. \$7.50.

I am at a loss to explain the recent interest in Arthur and in certain aspects of what the late Sir Thomas Kendrick described as the "British Antiquity" (that is, the Druids). Of course there have always been enthusiasts for this period, of whom I am one, but now, judging by the number of books that have appeared on the subject in recent years, there is a wide interest in early British history. Geoffrey Ashe is not puzzled, however. As secretary of the Cadbury-Camelot Excavation Committee he was able to observe at first hand the enthusiasm for that project in the form of money, inquiries, and visits to the site. His explanation is that we are dealing with a new form of patriotism, one to replace the outmoded jingoism of empire. The new patriotism looks to the "Matter of Britain" as its idealized past while at the same time it looks to the future. Ashe wrote in an earlier work (*The Quest for Arthur's Britain* [1968]): "From this a new and acceptable patriotism, a new sense of national vocation may surely come."

Unless one reads the prologue of *Camelot and the Vision of Albion* and realizes that it is Ashe's "own small *Golden Bough*," the rest of his book will come as a surprise since it deals more with Titans, William Blake, Zionism, and Gandhi than it does with Arthur. It is also a bit of a good thing, for when Ashe deals with these things and his own intellectual pedigree he is fascinating. The book is well worth reading for the latter alone. When he deals with Arthur, he is perverse when he is not merely wrong.

Considerations of space allow me to mention only two Arthurian matters, and those briefly. Anyone who has read the published excavation reports of South Cadbury and the separate opinions of Leslie Alcock, who headed the excavations, knows that South Cadbury was not Camelot. Anyone who has read much further knows that Camelot never existed except in the fertile brain of Chrétien de Troyes or some slightly earlier source and in the imagination of later antiquaries. Ashe also knows this and says so (p. 7). He goes on to say, however, that "Cadbury Castle could have been the original Camelot in another sense, as the real Arthur's headquarters." And again, "This city of the imagination is a gorgeous image projected by the tradition of a real Arthur with a real headquarters" (p. 71). In other words South Cadbury is Camelot after all, a prejudice that was imbedded in the title of the Cadbury-Camelot Excavation Committee.

A closely related objection is to Ashe's conception of the "Arthurian fact." According to



the argument there was a British war leader at the end of the sixth century who fought against the invading Saxons and who defeated them at the Battle of Badon. For such a figure Cadbury Castle, in terms of its size and location, would have been an appropriate base. Traditionally that leader was Arthur. Unfortunately for Ashe the evidence reads somewhat differently. There was a British or at least sub-Roman war leader named Ambrosius Aurelianus. The British did defeat the Saxons at the Battle of Badon. There are nine known fortified sites of roughly this same period and area of which Cadbury is by far the largest. There is no provable connection between the traditional Arthur and any of these facts or for that matter is there any necessary connection among them.

To turn from *Camelot and the Vision of Albion* to Richard Barber's *The Figure of Arthur* is to enter a different intellectual world. Like Ashe, Barber is not a professional scholar in this field (even though he has an earlier book on Arthur). That fact, frankly, is often painfully obvious whenever he departs from the Arthurian material per se. But Barber has a fine critical mind, which, when applied to the Arthurian sources, comes as a welcome relief from the emotional partisanship that usually surrounds the figure of Arthur. I have not yet read a better introduction to the subject. On the other hand I am dubious concerning the main positive argument of his book. In brief Barber holds that the original Arthur was a Scottish prince who died in battle against the heathen barbarians in the north of England. This Arthur of Dalraida acquired some local bardic fame. Later, through a similarity of name and a foreshortening of folk memory he was adopted by the Welsh, associated with the events surrounding Badon, and transformed into the Arthur of pseudohistory and legend. It would take a linguistic scholar to judge adequately the quality of Barber's arguments, particularly in respect to how the northern Arthur was transplanted into southeast Britain.

DONALD A. WHITE  
Temple University

A. CAMPBELL, editor. *Charters of Rochester*. (Anglo-Saxon Charters, 1.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1973. Pp. xxxv, 69. \$9.95.

Thirty years ago, Sir Frank Stenton noted in his *Anglo-Saxon England* that a new edition of Anglo-Saxon charters was "much to be desired." Despite his plea, scholars until now have had

to rely upon Walter D. Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History* (3 vols., London, 1885-93) and John Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticum Aevi Saxonici* (6 vols., London, 1839-48). These editions are inadequate because neither editor made much effort to distinguish between authentic charters and forgeries; moreover, additional documents have come to light since their publication, and recent scholarship provides much better tools for dating and authenticating Anglo-Saxon materials. In 1966 the British Academy and the Royal Historical Society jointly began preparation of a new edition of Anglo-Saxon charters that will include all pre-Conquest title deeds that have survived, whether formal charters, wills, writs, leases, or other documents. The first volume in this project, *Charters of Rochester*, has now appeared, edited by Alistair Campbell.

Campbell's collection contains thirty-seven charters, four in Old English, the rest in Latin, although eleven Latin charters have descriptions of boundaries in Old English. Most of the documents are royal grants of lands to the cathedral church of Rochester, ranging from a spurious charter of Ethelbert I in 604 to an account of a lawsuit concerning an estate of Bishop Godwin, ca. 995-1005. In his introduction, Campbell discusses the manuscripts on which his edition is based. All but four of the documents can be found in the *Textus Roffensis*, a manuscript in the Rochester Cathedral library, although copies of ten exist elsewhere as well. Campbell discusses the lands mentioned in the charters, locating most of them near Rochester or even within the city. He also discusses the authenticity of the documents, finding five of them to be likely forgeries. Subsequent volumes in the series must live up to a high standard that has been set by Campbell's scholarship in this first volume.

RALPH V. TURNER  
Florida State University

HANNA VOLLRATH-REICHELT. *Königsgedanke und Königtum bei den Angelsachsen: Bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*. (Kölner historische Abhandlungen, number 19.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1971. Pp. ix, 240. DM 42.

Vollrath-Reichelt runs counter to most English scholars but is none the worse for that. Unlike those who see a straight development from Bede's seven Bretwaldas through Mercian hegemony to Egbert of Wessex, she distinguishes a special imperium, characteristic of the early

Bretwaldas and later of Egbert, that gave military leadership in the face of outside threat (Pictish-Scottish in the former period, Viking in Egbert's) from the expansionist domination of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by Mercia and later Wessex. Both developments combine in Egbert. This major thesis is encased in a somewhat awkward division of the book: one part treats general concepts of Anglo-Saxon kingship, on which the author recognizes that English scholarship has had little to say (her approach differs greatly from J. M. Wallace-Hadrill's *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*, which was published in the same year); a second part details specific political actions of rulers. In discussing *Königsgedanke* Vollrath-Reichelt analyzes Bede (for whom legitimization lay in right of blood combined with consent of the folk) and other sources to conclude that no concept of kingship as Christian divine mandate existed before Egfrid of Mercia's anointment (787) and the Synod of Chelsea. Also discussed in part 1 are the meaning of *gens*, *natio*, and *populus*, the role of the *witenagemot* in royal rule, and regnal rights in relation to Bretwalda-ship.

Part 2 grapples more directly with the main thesis. Bede's Bretwaldas, in contrast with the great Mercian rulers, are seen as exercising military command but not imposing tribute, granting *bocland*, or dominating ecclesiastical affairs in other Anglo-Saxon realms. After a contrasting Mercian overlordship, Egbert continues the line of Bretwaldas after a break of 150 years. Bede means what he says when he ends the earlier list of those bearing *imperium* with Oswiu. A long excursus returns to the time-honored problem of *folcland* (here seen as land possessed by the king, not privately but as ruler) and *bocland*.

The book has weaknesses: it omits nonliterary sources (for example, archeology and numismatics), neglects the written evidence of laws, poetry, and so on, and side-steps problems of both Germanic and Roman influences. However, it recognizes that different sources (for example, Bede and charters) require different questions. Its major strengths lie not only in suggestive textual analyses of charters and in fitting old problems (Wilfrid's fall, Offa's Kentish relations) into new contexts, but in raising questions neglected by almost all English scholars and showing how these and other problems parallel Continental rulership in less insular isolation than often appears.

WILLIAM A. CHANEY  
Lawrence University

V. PÁŠUTA. *Lietuvos valstybės susidarymas* [The Formation of the Lithuanian State]. Vilna: Izdatel'stvo "Mintis." 1971. Pp. 423.

In this book a noted Soviet medievalist attempts a systematic explanation of the developmental process of a number of thirteenth-century weak, obscure, and still heathen Lithuanian principalities into a major unified, dynastic power in Eastern Europe by the middle of the fourteenth century. The work, in which the standard Marxist conceptual framework is used, is a major effort to reinterpret synthetically the written sources and to bolster the argument with recent archeological and ethnological evidence. Since the available materials on the early socioeconomic and political conditions among the Lithuanians are very scanty, the author wisely does not shy away from interpolating and drawing useful analogies from known facts about Lithuanian kinsmen, the Prussian and the Latvian peoples about whom early sources happen to be more readily available.

The author's main thesis is that the development of a centralized Lithuanian state has not been the result of an internecine, dynastic struggle among the nobility, nor was it primarily connected with the unifying efforts of Prince Mindaugas, the first crowned king of Lithuania, or of his immediate successors. In Pašuta's view it has come about mainly because of "scientifically predictable" interplay of local economic and social developments taking place in the region during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, developments that were also importantly affected by the drastically changed international situation of the area due to the arrival and ambitions of Germanic, Polish, and Mongol rulers toward the Lithuanian people. The immediate threat these invaders represented—as vividly exemplified by the fate of the Prussians, Latvians, and Estonians in the thirteenth century—made the establishment of a centralized, dynastic, and therefore stronger and more effective state a basic precondition for the continued independent economic and political existence of the Lithuanian people.

The concomitant expansion of this newly forming centralized state eastward and south-eastward into the principalities of Rus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is interpreted as having been in part both an aggressive and defensive move. It aided both the power of the emerging dynasty of the Lithuanian grand princes and at the same time provided the country with needed additional resources

and manpower to counter effectively the constantly increasing pressure of Lithuania's most important and dangerous enemies, the Germanic knight orders.

Notwithstanding the strictures and limitations imposed by the framework used, this is still a very important, erudite, and synthetic interpretation. The documentation throughout is careful, and the accompanying bibliography is very exhaustive and useful. The work will have to be taken into account by all who concern themselves with the problems and evidence so ably marshaled here.

BENEDICT V. MACIUIKA  
University of Connecticut

M. H. KEEN. *England in the Later Middle Ages: A Political History*. London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1973. Pp. xii, 581. \$13.00.

Nearly two decades ago G. R. Elton's *England Under the Tudors* appeared. Now Methuen has added a second volume to its series, *A History of England in Seven Volumes*, with the publication of Dr. Maurice Keen's book. Purporting to have written a textbook, Keen has not in fact done so. Instead of the expected balanced rendering of political, economic, social, and intellectual accomplishments, which is found nowadays in textbooks, the discussion centers upon politico-military developments. Concomitant societal activities are considered only when they are relevant to the political events. This is not to say that Keen has returned to the nineteenth-century manner of historical writing. While his focus is upon politics and war, his purpose is to explain their impact upon late medieval English society. War dominated the period. As a result the government and society functioned under severe pressures. Owing to an insufficiency of resources the English monarchy usually could not relieve these strains. The populace, confronted by a lack of leadership within both the monarchy and the landed aristocracy, initiated the major constitutional, economic, and social changes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Edward I and his successors inherited the governmental system that had well served his predecessors. Despite its historical base, the structure proved unequal to the strains imposed by constant warfare. The failure of the system stemmed largely from two circumstances: first, the paucity of the monarchy's financial resources, and second, the independence of the

landed magnates. Consequently as early as 1297 Edward I discovered the general dislike of his wars fostered questions about his use of his royal power. The deterioration of the relations between ruler and ruled continued during Edward II's reign because of his youthful incompetence and his reliance on favorites. As the insecurity of the magnates increased so did their feuding, which further aggravated their discontent.

Temporary relief came with the accession of Edward III. Young Edward unified the realities of medieval warfare with the then current chivalric ideals and thereby firmly bound the nobility to him. By the time English enthusiasm for the Hundred Years' War was dampened by heavy taxation, disagreements over the maltoltes, and disruption of overseas commerce, Edward III was in his dotage with his great victories behind him. The war's cost, Keen feels, damaged the economy more severely than the plagues of the period. Dissatisfaction with the government came also from the decentralization of the administration of royal justice. Edward's alliance with the landlords allowed the administration of justice to become the province of the gentry, thus inextricably intertwined with bastard feudalism.

By 1381 the commons of England had had enough of inept and corrupt governance and had revolted. Although Richard II's councilors, being men of wealth and land, struggled to revive the monarchy's prestige, their solution of retrenchment through conservative definition of the royal prerogatives failed. Such behavior created suspicion rather than respect. Unfortunately for England's future the tensions of Richard II's day produced the political divisions of the next century. The aristocrats distrusted each other, while the commons feared social disorder internally and France externally, the result being that in Henry IV's reign England experienced political and social upheaval. It was, according to Keen, the response of the commons rather than the response of the monarchy to the anxiety of the period that created the so-called Lancastrian experiment. But, even with this, only luck saved Henry IV at the end of his reign from a civil war. His grandson, Henry VI, in a similar situation was to be less fortunate.

For a short time the accumulating problems of the Lancastrian monarchy were solved or at least diverted by the militarism of Henry V. Young Henry epitomized the pious, chivalrous, and just king that his great-grandfather, Edward III, had once been. The reopening of the

French war in 1415 received the approval of noblemen and commoners alike. In the thrilling conquest of northern France, Englishmen found reassurance. England, again, appeared well governed. With Henry V's death the successes in France, with which the English identified, decreased, ceased, and defeats followed. The increasing losses in France coupled with growing military expenses exacerbated the deteriorating domestic situation. Incapable of solving either problem Henry VI and his councilors lost first the loyalty of many magnates and members of the gentry and then the throne in civil war.

In the fifteenth century in France and England, emulative aristocrats clothing their ambition in legitimism vied for mastery of the king and thence the government. Royal illnesses compounded the confusion at court. Both situations produced civil wars that ended in the creation of strong monarchies. In England's case, Edward IV cemented the nobility, gentry, and commons to the monarchy by careful use of patronage, good lordship, and a magnetic personality. Prudent fiscal policies and reduced military expenditures ended the financial drain on the kingdom. With peace abroad England returned to a more ordered state. This, though, Keen believes to have been an accident caused by diplomatic ineptitude rather than by any conscious policy of the Yorkists.

Dr. Keen has rendered us a great service by pointing out the importance of foreign wars to late medieval English society. His thesis that monarchs who understood warfare and their fellow Englishmen's waging of it were the more successful rulers has considerable merit. His other view that the governed instead of the governors initiated the major changes of the period is less convincing and is, in fact, ignored by the author himself as his volume progresses. Whether liberal historians like to admit it or not, England did fight the first Hundred Years' War, and their condemnations of the bellicose English kings of the time does nothing to change this fact.

KENNETH G. MADISON  
Iowa State University

HELENA M. CHEW and WILLIAM KELLAWAY, editors. *London Assize of Nuisance, 1301-1431*. (London Record Society Publications, volume 10.) London: the Society. 1973. Pp. xxxiv, 221. By subscription.

Both social and legal historians will find material to interest them in this book. It is a cal-

endar of cases heard by the Assize of Nuisance in London from 1301 to 1431. The cases arose under the *Assisa de Edificiis*, a compilation of regulations the earliest of which were drawn up probably in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The regulations deal with walls, gutters, privies, windows, and pavements. The City was much troubled by fires and was therefore concerned not only to provide means for settling disputes but also to encourage the use of stone in building.

Most of the cases between party and party concern walls, especially party walls. The regulations provided that neighbors wishing to build such walls should each give 1½ feet of land and share the cost of building a stone wall 3 feet in width. If one of the parties could not afford to build his portion of the wall, he was to give his land so that his neighbor might build on it. So there were many possibilities of conflict. A common one was that a neighbor had allowed his part of the wall to fall into ruin so that chickens, dogs, and children could come into the complainant's garden. Gutters also seem to be a common cause of complaint. They spilled water on the neighbor's premises causing rotting of timbers in walls or outhouses. Privies and cesspools were also a common cause of complaint, and windows on the side of a house had to be of a certain height in order to protect the neighbor's privacy.

Some complaints were brought to the assize by the commonalty. These complaints arose concerning overhanging walls, pentices, and solars that obstructed passage through a street, lane, or alley. The assize before whom the case was heard consisted of the mayor and twelve aldermen, although twelve were not always available. Sometimes a jury was called to deal with a point in controversy. Often also a panel of experts was called when the matter in dispute (such as a gutter that ran underneath a neighbor's house) could not be evident to the assize. Decisions were made promptly, and forty days was the usual time allowed for correction of the matter complained of. Enforcement was probably not easy, and sometimes the plaintiffs were responsible for delay. In one case they did not press for enforcement until five years had passed. Plaintiffs normally waited from three to nine months before complaining that the decision of the assize had not been enforced. On the whole the assize seems to have been a fairly effective instrument for remedying nuisance.

MARGARET HASTINGS  
Rutgers University



ROBERT CHAZAN. *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science: Ninety-first Series, number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 238. \$12.50.

This is a very useful book. We have had no comprehensive history of the Jews in Capetian France; Professor Chazan has filled an annoying gap in our knowledge of medieval Jewry. His ability to use Hebrew sources adds greatly to the value of his work. We can see events from the Jewish as well as from the Christian side. He has tracked down every possible reference to Jews in the old royal domain and in Normandy, Anjou, Blois-Champagne, and Nevers. Thin at first, the sources become fairly abundant for the thirteenth century.

The most important contribution of the book is the list (and map) of Jewish communities in northern France. He has found 131 Jewish settlements plus 87 mentions of individual Jews in other towns and villages. There were Jewish communities in quite small towns, such as Caudebec-en-Caux, Chauny, St. Pierre-sur-Dives, Villers-en-Argonne, and Chaource. One can understand why the Church feared the impact of learned Jews on ignorant villagers.

The outlines of the story are familiar—obscure beginnings, a fairly tranquil, prosperous, and intellectually brilliant period in the twelfth century, increasing troubles in the thirteenth century when worldly kings (Philip Augustus and Philip the Fair) took the Jews' money and pious kings (Louis VIII and St. Louis) tried to deprive them of their livelihood and their scholarly tradition by forbidding usury and by burning the Talmud. The end of French Jewry came with the expulsion of 1306. Chazan has explained this rise and fall more convincingly and more vividly than any earlier writer.

Intellectual history was deliberately excluded from this work, but a page or two on scholarly contacts between Jews and Christians—for example, in establishing the text of the Old Testament—would have reinforced his appraisal of the twelfth century as a relatively tolerant period. And one can wish that the author had spent a little more time in correcting awkward sentences, eliminating repetitions, and checking his translations of Latin names (Daniel Brito, clericus, is hardly Daniel Cleric). But the scope and detail of this book will make it invaluable to any student of the problem.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER  
Princeton University

JOHN HOLLAND SMITH. *Joan of Arc*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. 232. \$8.95.

With this book John Holland Smith once again shows himself a master of the difficult craft of serious popular history. His narrative is terse, precise, and constantly in motion. Except for the first and last chapters, he tells the story largely in the words of Joan and her contemporaries. The text thus approaches the dryness of court reporting and the inherent intensity of good courtroom drama. The minor personalities—especially the evil ones—are sharply delineated: Georges de la Tremouille appears even more the villain of the piece than old Cauchon himself. Joan comes through as a driven and ruthless, but mysteriously attractive, late adolescent. On the more technical level, Smith describes the nature and purpose of medieval inquisitorial procedure with absolute fairness, stressing both its fundamental penitential purpose and its similarities to the political show trials and "self-criticism and confession" exhibits the twentieth century knows so well. The details of warfare are treated with somewhat less clarity. Smith is weakest in those few places (mainly in ch. 1) where he attempts to describe the general political and economic conditions in France at the beginning of the fifteenth century and to narrate in a few pages the Byzantine political machinations of the Valois court. For these topics, students will have to be sent elsewhere. But these are minor flaws indeed, for the remainder of the book is utterly captivating. I read it nonstop from beginning to end.

Beneath the polished surface of his narrative, Smith also makes one serious scholarly point, implicitly if not explicitly. Contemporary reactions to Joan—the way she was portrayed in 1451 in the company of Judith with the head of Holofernes, the way the inquisitors turned her male dress into the central issue at her trial (her return to it was their excuse to release her to the secular arm and the stake)—speak loudly of the very special nature of male fears in the fifteenth century. This underlying perception is important and deserves more extended attention than it has yet received.

In the last chapter, Smith turns his attention to the posthumous Joan: the fifteenth-century false Joans and the twentieth-century mythical Joan, saint, bastard daughter of Isabella of Bavaria, rescued from the stake. Such stories have founded a veritable industry in France during the last generation. (Polemics have inevitably followed. Those interested in the genre should turn to Regine Pernoud, *Jeanne devant*

*les Cauchons* [Paris, 1970], who, at least, is quick and usually rapierlike. The more recent Yann Grandeau, *Jeanne insultée* [Paris, 1973], takes the romance industry all too seriously and at too much length.) Smith describes and dismisses them in six pages, which, in the absence of serious new evidence, is about what they deserve.

FREDRIC L. CHEYETTE  
Amherst College

LOUIS B. PASCOE, S.J. *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, volume 7.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1973. Pp. xii, 233. 64 gls.

Gerhart Ladner opined that the "Idea of Reform" in the context of the Church's history "is characterised by the belief both in ineradicable terrestrial imperfection and in a relative perfectibility the extent of which is unforeseeable." Louis Pascoe acknowledges himself to be another disciple of Ladner. Instead of working backward from Jean Gerson's reformatory schemes to underlying, and perhaps developing, principles, he analyzes his subject's multifarious writings and from them constructs an integrated concept of reform. What emerges—and the methodology has ensured our preparedness—is an essentially conservative and eclectic system, with few surprises. This is not Pascoe's fault: of Gerson much has been written.

Gerson, following a well-worn tradition, depicts the Church in hierarchical terms. It is the reflection of a celestial archetype, perfectly constituted at its inception. Even elements seemingly absent from the *ecclesia primitiva* existed in germ. But Gerson concedes that the Holy Spirit could create "new channels of authority and order within the Church," though not in his time! His expositor interprets this as "openness of mind," without seeming to realize its potential for demolishing the whole edifice.

Below the supercelestial and celestial hierarchies of the Trinity and the angels is the Church with its triple division of pope and cardinals, bishops and priests, and—in a passive role—laymen. The functions of Gerson's hierarchies, on the Dionysian model, are purgation, illumination, and perfection. Hierarchical activity serves to edify the mystical body of Christ—the Church.

As in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, the antithesis of order and chaos—*similitudo inferni*—is fundamental. The schism constitutes deformity and opponents of the hierarchy (Wycliffe and Hus, one supposes) impede man's approach

to God through its agency. With respect to the hierarchy itself, curia, bishops, and lesser clergy all merit condemnation for failure to execute their functions appropriately. A means of renewal, working through the hierarchy, is the *semen vivificum et reformativum*, identifiable as the Holy Spirit. Moreover, against the monastic claim to an exclusive *status perfectionis*, Gerson sets the "universality of Christian perfection." Both in his attitude to the mendicants and cloistered religious, and in his emphasis on the theologian's superiority as an interpreter of canon law, Gerson betrays the predilections of a secular clerk of his day nurtured in the theological faculty at Paris.

The historian will have some qualifications about this work. There are indeed fresh insights, but equally significant occlusions. Some of these arise, one feels, from the methodology employed. More generally, the book exhibits faults not anticipated in scholarly exposition. The style is pedestrian, and there are grammatical errors, infelicities, and even spelling mistakes. Some of these are as follows: "achieved little results" (p. 12); "particularly unique" (p. 19); "exigenicies" (p. 73); "sacriligeous" (p. 78); "he alone is most capable" (p. 93); *regio egistatis* (p. 198); "Trough" (p. 202). The recurrence of "our research" and "norm" irritates, and perhaps so eminent an international publisher as Brill could utilize a Greek font rather than bemuse the reader with such barbarisms as *gnothi seauton*.

ROY M. HAINES  
Dalhousie University

PAUL JOHANSEN and HEINZ VON ZUR MÜHLEN. *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval*. (Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 15.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1973. Pp. xxiv, 555. DM 120.

Demographic and social histories of the Middle Ages are slowly becoming more numerous. This particular work attempts to study the demography and social stratification of medieval and early modern Reval (Tallinn), the capital of modern Estonia. As a trading center, this site dates back to prehistoric times, but in a modern political-legal sense, the town was founded in 1230 by a group of German merchants. Yet most of the inhabitants of the city remained "non-Germans," a term that in addition to the native Estonians also encompassed some Swedes, Finns, and Russians. Using a variety of extant town documents such as tax assessment rolls and court and guild records, the authors trace the geo-



graphic and national origins of the citizens of Reval and examine in detail the occupations and social life of the non-Germans. The study shows that to be non-German, generally a euphemism for Estonian, meant a slow but sure relegation to the less desirable and/or profitable occupations. Because of their ethnic origins, the Estonians soon became excluded from most of the guilds and frequently were deprived of the legal privileges accorded the German citizenry.

The work also includes chapters on the history of Reval, the religious life of its Estonian inhabitants, and a discourse on the assimilation and alienation of the natives and the Germans. There is an extensive selection of primary sources and a nineteen-page section listing the names of many non-German inhabitants of the town. The latter are grouped according to whether their surnames indicate their place of origin, occupation, or some distinguishing physical or personal characteristic. Author, geographic, and topographic indexes are provided, as well as a subject index and several maps.

Like the other volumes in the series *Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, this book is heavily documented. It treats the subject thoroughly, even ponderously, and is directed more toward the specialist than the general reader. While its dual authorship enlarges the scope of the book, it also leads to an unevenness in style and content. One wonders, for instance, if Chapter 2, "A Brief History of Reval in the Middle Ages," and Chapter 6, "Estonian Sermons and Estonian Spiritual Life," really belong in this work. This, of course, may be a matter of individual taste. The authors fail to take into account new theories published in Soviet Estonia concerning the founding of Reval that dispute Johansen's old claim that the town began around the present Old Market. As the authors themselves note, they have been unable to consult that part of the Reval city archives that were not removed to Germany but remained in Estonia after World War II. One also sorely misses a separate bibliography, which would ease the task of tracking down the full references hidden among the copious footnotes.

All in all, however, the book is a solid scholarly study, albeit written from a German point of view, about an infrequently explored topic and a less than well-known but important part of medieval Europe.

PEEP PETER REBANE  
Pennsylvania State University,  
Ogontz Campus

ERNST BOCK, editor. *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I.* Volume 3, 1488-1490. In two parts. (Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Middle Series, volume 3.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1972; 1973. Pp. 984; 988-1469. DM 225; DM 125.

In 1928 the Historische Kommission der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften decided to publish the papers of the German Diet under Maximilian I as a separate series alongside the *ältere Reihe* (covering from Wenceslas to Frederick III), and the *neuere Reihe* (Charles V). This is the first volume of the series to appear in print, but several more volumes are to appear shortly. It is a good beginning to a long-awaited series. Although the Frankfurt Diet of 1489 was hardly the most famous of the imperial assemblies of the pre-Reformation era, it was the first such gathering in which the young king participated as a free agent. Since the *Reichstagsakten* have been collected to illustrate the history of the Reich as well as of the Diet, developments outside the assembly have also been given their due. At the outset of the coverage, Maximilian had turned his attentions away from exclusive preoccupation with the Burgundian inheritance. He headed off Wiltelsbach expansion by saving the western lands of the House from alienation to the Bavarian dukes by the Archduke Sigismund as well as by fostering the Swabian League as an anti-Bavarian coalition. But the unification of the western lands under strong Habsburg rule and the maintenance of the League assured friction with the Swiss and their increased alienation from the Reich. In the context of these events, the Diet of Frankfurt in 1489, which dealt at length only with the question of a small aid for Maximilian's campaign in the Netherlands, pales into relative unimportance. But the constitutional historian is quick to point out that the Frankfurt assembly was the first such gathering at which the towns participated as full members, and that it was the first at which the three estates were formally grouped into separate chambers (*curiae*). From the 1490s on, the Diet was the greatest forum of German political discussion and communication, and Bock argues that this particular meeting set the stage for the great era of the German Diet that was to follow.

Bock contends that the proper approach to the affairs of the Reich is via foreign affairs, particularly the struggles of the House of Habsburg with France and Hungary. This inevitably biases the treatment in favor of Maximilian and against the more internally oriented in-

terests of the estates of the Reich, which continuously opposed the "great power" aspirations of the Habsburgs. The desires of the reformers found in the estates had not yet been clearly formulated. The insufficiency of the existing machinery for supporting Reich goals was, however, patent in the fact that only about a third of the money levy voted by the Frankfurt Diet was ever paid. As Bock points out, the grand enterprise of the House of Austria was supported primarily by its own lands as well as by its credit dealings with the Fuggers, and only to a very modest extent did it draw on the Reich.

This double volume has over two hundred pages of clear, readable narrative introduction interspersed among almost twelve hundred pages of documentary material. The documents are subdivided into the prehistory of the Diet (roughly July 1488 to June 1489), the Diet itself, and the collection of the services and money voted at the assembly. The prehistory is treated with greater breadth than the other two sections, and in this section the documents are further subdivided by topic. As with the newer series of the *Reichstagsakten*, the texts are rarely given in full (though some of the protocols of the Diet are); rather they are summarized and excerpted with full bibliographical notes. In all, this will be a very useful tool for researchers seeking to understand the fifteenth-century Reich on its own terms, and the introductions by themselves constitute an excellent monograph on the political life of Central Europe in the period. One cannot be called impatient for wanting to see the rest of the volumes printed as soon as possible.

STEVEN W. ROWAN  
University of Missouri—  
St. Louis

JUAN CARRASCO PÉREZ. *La población de Navarra en el siglo XIV*. (Colección histórica de la Universidad de Navarra, 29.) Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. 1973. Pp. 703.

The major utility of this volume will be found in the 455 pages of previously unpublished documentary sources that it contains. These texts consist of five tax surveys, all deriving from the Archivo General de Navarra, of parts or the whole of the kingdom of Navarre between 1330 and 1366. They have been fully described and identified and laboriously printed.

The information they supply has been combined with that derived from five other Nav-

arrese fiscal documents of the same period, all previously published, and distilled into a sixty-five page statistical appendix, which is the next most valuable part of the book. Much of this information is also presented graphically in the twenty-four maps integrated into the volume.

One can imagine the labor that went into the sheer collection and analysis of this material by the doctoral candidate (and this is indeed a published dissertation), but the remainder of this bulky tome is of quite uneven value. Two short sections on the population fluctuations and the social structure of Navarre during this period amount to about thirty-two pages combined. They are carefully and perhaps too cautiously done and yield some information valuable to the demographer about the effects of the Black Death, for example. They also add some interesting if highly localized, and thus particularized, data about population shifts in the fourteenth century both within the rural countryside and from the countryside toward the city. There are also some interesting figures provided on the numbers of Muslims and Jews in the kingdom and their geographical distribution.

The real difficulty in finding a historical context in which to generalize this data is not addressed. The author was hardly ready to offer opinions as to the applicability of his findings outside the small, mountain kingdom of Navarre. But then it is precisely the inability of most doctoral candidates to handle such wider implications that makes the publication of most theses of doubtful utility. The author's brief sixteen-page essay on the development of historical demography and its methodological problems is little more than a survey of the literature. Similarly, his handling of his data is safe, sensible, and will add nothing that I can detect to the methodology of demographics.

BERNARD F. REILLY  
Villanova University

EDWARD A. ARMSTRONG. *Saint Francis: Nature Mystic. The Derivation and Significance of the Nature Stories in the Franciscan Legend*. (Hermeneutics: Studies in the History of Religions, 2.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. 270. \$12.00.

The author of this book is a naturalist, ornithologist, and Anglican parson who has written books on bird behavior and on Shakespeare's imagination. Here, as before, he brings scientific knowledge, great learning, and an unusual ap-

proach to a well-worn theme. He is not a historian, but his scholarly instinct and his devotion to the subject make this not only a labor of love but a book from which the Franciscan scholar has much to learn. He describes the tradition of animal-loving saints before Francis's time, analyzes the various creatures and types of creature that enter the biographies and legends of St. Francis, and attempts, as many have before, to draw the whole theme together in a final chapter on the *Canticle of Brother Sun*.

There are many indications that Mr. Armstrong has not a historian's approach to this subject. He is brief and somewhat misleading on the Cathari, and fails to note the ways in which Francis propounded in thought, word, and action a direct denial of the Cathar doctrine that the material world was wholly evil (pp. 27, 135). Francis saw animals as God's creatures, and his treatment of them was often a parable to emphasize that the world is God's, and good. Mr. Armstrong's brief words on Joachim of Fiore (pp. 30-31, 63, etc.) are similarly superficial and ignore most of the recent literature stemming from Dr. Marjorie Reeves's seminal book. More serious, he confuses the sources, sometimes preferring the witness of the legendary *Fioretti* to Thomas of Celano (pp. 128-29) or the saint's companions (p. 42), or treating the *Speculum Perfectionis* as an original work; he makes little use of Francis's own writings. Yet he brings to his study an incisive and deep understanding of the natural world in which Francis lived, far beyond that normal in Francis's biographers or mere historians. He is an amateur in the best sense; his learning is genuine and wide, but it is the naturalist's patience and enthusiasm that breathes new life into many of these stories.

ROSALIND B. BROOKE  
London

V. D. KOROLIUK *et al.*, editors. *Issledovaniia po istorii slavianskikh i balkanskikh narodov. Epokha srednevekov'ia. Kievskaiia Rus' i ee slavianskie sosedi* [Studies in the History of the Slavic and Balkan Nations. Era of the Middle Ages. Kievan Rus' and Its Slavic Neighbors]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut slavianovedeniia i balkanistiki.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 288.

This volume is the first *sbornik* of the Division for the Study of Ancient and Medieval History of the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies at the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In the brief introduction the editors signal an intensifica-

tion of interest on the part of Soviet scholars in medieval studies of the Balkan Peninsula and the Danubian basin. The fifteen papers that follow are dedicated to the memory of B. D. Grekov, the first director of the Institute of Slavic Studies.

Six of the fifteen papers are strictly within the realm of archeology. With no exception they are concerned with an East Slavic ethnic and cultural presence in areas that are subject to a variety of interpretations. For those who are interested in the Slavic settlement of present-day Slovakia, a good recapitulation of literature on the subject is given by C. I. Peniak (pp. 68-77). Another six papers survey and reassess the historical problems. G. G. Litavrin suggests in his contribution that Yaroslav with his Russes raided Byzantium in 1043 in order to restore neighborly relations that had been disrupted by the participation of some Russes in an internal Byzantine struggle (p. 221). A different interpretation was given recently by Andrzej Poppe in *Slavia Orientalia* (1967). It seems that the controversy concerning the campaign of 1043 will continue because of the lack of convincing arguments or solid evidence.

Another topic that has evoked a large quantity of polemical literature is the problem of ethnic and political associations of the so-called Cities of Cherven/Czerwień and of the region of the town of Peremyshl/Przemysl during the ninth through the eleventh centuries. These regions were assigned by scholars either to Poland or to Kievan Rus, the division of opinion frequently reflecting national feelings on the part of the writer. However, Ia. D. Isaevich adds a new dimension to the controversy. He suggests a Czech component in the medieval history of the region and finds support for his reasoning in the description of the Prague bishopric from 1086, in which the eastern boundary of the diocese is given as running along the Bug and Styr rivers. Isaevich, furthermore, quotes the Chronicles of Dlugossius to show that the town of Peremyshl/Przemysl might have been founded by a Přemyslid (Boleslav II). Finally, Isaevich concludes on the basis of archeological material that the whole region was East Slavic. His reasoning would have been more convincing had he brought forward some evidence to show that the Rus political superstructure in its material culture had more in common with the local population than the military-political superstructure of the Poles or the Czechs.

A significant contribution to the volume is by V. D. Koroliuk, the director of the newly created Division for the Study of Ancient and

Medieval (Slavic) History. His paper sets out the concrete tasks for research and suggests some methodological principles. Most interesting is Koroliuk's suggestion to treat the Balkans and the Carpathian basin as "contact zones" in which cultural, political, and ethnic encounters took place between the Slavs and non-Slavs. The idea of "contact zones" is not entirely new, but its concrete definition in this case contains some dangers of oversimplification. A "contact zone" not only suggests but, in Koroliuk's words, presupposes the existence of a "non-synthetic," culturally and ethnically pure zone—in this case, the area inhabited by the East Slavs, or, more precisely, by the Polane of Kiev (pp. 10, 16). The author stresses the active political role of the nomads in the "contact zone" between Eastern and Central Europe (p. 10). What had happened to the Northmen and Khazars in Eastern Europe? Another question presents itself when one reads that both the West European feudal states and the feudal system in Byzantium emerged as a direct result of Slavic pressure (p. 15).

The collection of studies concludes with a bibliographic survey of some 170 Russian and Soviet studies on relations between Kievan Rus and other medieval Slavic political formations.

The volume as a whole provides stimulating reading for scholars interested in Soviet scholarship devoted to the study of the proto- and early history of Eastern and Central Europe.

IMRE BOBA

University of Washington

APOSTOLOS ATH. GLAVINAS. *Hē epi Alexiou Komnēnou (1081–1118) peri hierōn skeuōn, keimēliōn kai agiōn eikonōn eris (1081–1095)* [The Controversy during the Reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) over Sacred Vessels, Gems, and Holy Pictures (1081–1095)]. (Byzantine Texts and Studies, 6.) Thessaloniki: Center for Byzantine Studies; distrib. by Library Grigoris, Athens. 1972. Pp. 217.

Acceding, in 1081, to an empire that was paralyzed by economic dystrophy and military ataxia, Alexius Comnenus resorted to drastic fiscal measures, among which his confiscation or compulsory borrowing of metallic church furnishings for coinage can be seen as relatively innocuous, from a purely economic viewpoint. Alexius was a pious ruler, and his embarrassment at the actions he was forced to take was felt to be genuine by many churchmen, but there was a more absolute party for whom reasons of state were insufficient, and in 1082 they exacted from

the emperor a chrysobull condemning his own actions and a promise of restitution. In the next military crisis, however, the emperor once again put his hand on church treasures. This blatant recidivism exasperated the metropolitan bishop, Leo of Chalcedon, into bringing against the emperor the awful charge of heretical iconoclasm.

Even his opponents admit that Leo had the virtues of saintly simplicity, but he also had the failings. He charged bullheaded through the subtleties of the traditional Orthodox defense of icons and produced one of the silliest arguments in the long history of Byzantine theological polemic. He proposed that substances in contact with sacred images were somehow altered so as to partake of something like a divine essence and that the substances themselves must therefore be accorded special reverence. That was simple idolatry and had to be suppressed. A synod was eventually called, and Leo yielded on every point, after which he was restored to his metropolitan seat. The members of the synod had not been afraid in the slightest that Leo might be a serious heresiarch, and if Leo really thought that Alexius was an iconoclast, he was even more of a fool than he appears. The quarrel and its resolution proved nothing, except perhaps that the Orthodox authorities, who could be pitiless when prosecuting a real case of heresy, were nonetheless able to be generous when dealing with a foolish old man.

To devote more than two hundred pages to such a case is an example of doctoral overkill, particularly when the bibliography shows that it has been thoroughly worked over already. Glavinas has gone after every possible thread of tenuous connection with a sad and rather trivial affair, and his book serves its primary purpose of introducing its author as a diligent and conscientious researcher. One would rather have seen half the number of pages devoted to a more significant subject.

PIERRE A. MACKAY

University of Washington

J. OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN. *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture*. Edited by MAX KNIGHT. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. xxix, 602. \$20.00.

The Huns are awesome adversaries, as formidable to chronicle today as to confront in battle at the time Attila scourged civilized society of the later Roman Empire. Having



left no written records of their own, they are known only from the hostile, often erroneous, accounts of contemporary and later writers in Latin or Greek, or from the tangible evidence of Hunnic artifacts: grave furniture, armor, utensils, ornaments.

The papers collected in this definitive synthesis bring together the fruits of a lifetime of research by a scholar who delved into classical, Slavic, and Asiatic sources and crisscrossed Europe, Russia, and Asia in pursuit of his "demonic" quarry. A model of historical detection, the book begins with a re-examination of such literary evidence as there is before turning to the political history of the Huns: their migration from the Don to the Danube, their subsequent rise to power under Attila, and their final collapse under his son Dengizich. Source criticism and discussions of chronology impinge without apology upon the narrative throughout. The remainder of the book consists of monographs on Hunnic economy and society, warfare and religion, art, racial characteristics and linguistic peculiarities, the whole enlightened by extensive use of archeological material—a benchmark in Hunnic studies—or advanced techniques of anthropology or linguistics. Maenchen-Helfen does not make easy reading and his exposition, for all its verve, will take some digesting even by specialists. But anyone willing to make the effort can hardly fail to be fired by the author's enthusiasm for his subject or to be impressed by the scholarship and good sense that has ordered, interpreted, and pieced together the myriad, fragmentary clues. The world of the Huns and their place in history, what manner of folk they were and how they lived, are here illuminated by a historian who had to be the master of so many other disciplines: archeology, art history—above all philology, with competence in the widest range of ancient and modern languages. His work must surely stand as the magisterial *point de départ* for all future study of this shadowy people.

At the time Maenchen-Helfen died in 1969 the manuscript was incomplete, its chapters in varying stages of completion with binders and folders bursting the seams of the author's study. The final version, indeed the appearance of any version at all, is due to many hands but particularly to the collaboration of scholar friends at the University of California, Berkeley, one of whom, Paul J. Alexander, has provided a helpful "background" to introduce the more general reader to the main body of the text. One shudders at the thought of

editing the Maenchen Papers, a task as intimidating as the Huns themselves.

DUNCAN FISHWICK  
*University of Alberta*

FRANZ GEORG MAIER. *Byzanz*. (Fischer Weltgeschichte, 13.) Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973. Pp. 443. DM 6.80.

The Fischer Weltgeschichte consists of thirty-four paperback volumes completed or projected encompassing the histories of the inhabited continents and the whole chronological range from prehistoric times to the twentieth century. The volume entitled *Byzanz* consists of seven chapters contributed by six scholars under the direction of Professor Franz Georg Maier. It covers, in some four hundred pages, the history of the Empire from Justinian I to the fall of Constantinople. The omission of the period from Constantine I to Justinian I is proper in the context of the series since coverage for the earliest period, which is otherwise usually treated in the general histories of Byzantium, can just as well be left to the volume dealing with the last stages of the Roman Empire proper. The argument that the period from Justinian to Heraclius constitutes the decisive phase in the evolution from Roman to Byzantine society is acceptable and implies no disregard for the elements of continuity. More general problems of the origins and nature of the Empire that are usually discussed in the context of the pre-Justinian transition period are adequately dealt with in the editor's excellent introductory chapter.

The chapters correspond to a widely accepted system of periodization: chapter 1, Justinian to Heraclius; 2, the Iconoclastic crisis; 4, Macedonian Renaissance; 5, Comnenian period; 6, Fourth Crusade and its consequences; 7, Paleologan period. Chapter 3, "Byzanz und die Slaven," carries up to the fifteenth century. In the context of the series the Byzantine impact on the Slavs is most conveniently dealt with in this volume. The Empire's relationships with its other neighbors are dealt with in other volumes of the series.

The bibliography is arranged under certain general headings as well as by chapter. It is quite complete down to 1972. There are no important omissions. The apparatus is otherwise nonexistent and little space is devoted to consideration of the state of Byzantine historiography and its outstanding problems. This is to be expected in a work of this kind, but

it would have been well to have included a brief essay on the quality and quantity of the sources. A smoothly flowing historical narrative can be deceptive to the layman, and some insight into scholarly process and analysis has an independent value.

The various contributions fit together well without redundancies or lacunae. The material is clearly presented in a manner that is simplified without being elementary. The material in each chapter is presented with due regard for the balance and interrelationship of the key elements. There is no tendency to include inessential and confusing detail. The analysis accords with the currently prevailing scholarly consensus and is presented with a minimum of qualification. There are no novel interpretations although the contributors naturally tend to have their own notions of priority with regard to the relative weight of the various elements of Byzantine history and society.

Chapter 7 by Professor D. M. Nicol, the most distinguished and prolific scholar among the contributors, is perhaps the best. His narrative imparts a degree of vitality to the Paleologan era that other treatments often deny owing to an overwhelming impression of feebleness and the inevitability of final destruction. Nicol succeeds in conveying the more accurate impression of a continuous struggle for survival by resort to every available means.

Chapters 4 and 5 by Professor Winfried Hecht also stand out, although the emphasis on the strategic elements in the former chapter has not been carried over into the latter, in which the social and political conflicts pre-empt most of the space. This is the normal treatment of the period after Basil II, but it is not logical or consistent to neglect the military problems to such a degree since they have an independent importance. The chapter on the Slavs by Dr. Hans-Joachim Härtel is instructive although the Byzantinist will detect a number of minor errors (the title Caesar-Tsar obtained by the Bulgar Khans is not the equivalent of Basileus). Chapters 1 (Professor Maier), 2 (Dr. Judith Herin), and 6 (Hermann Beckedorf) are all adequate and professional.

In summary it may be said that Byzantinists and scholars in related fields will prefer Ostrogorsky's general history to this volume. On the other hand the nonspecialist would find it worthwhile, providing, of course, he reads German with facility. It would not be worthwhile to translate this volume out of the context of the series.

JOHN N. FRARY  
Middlesex County College

NICÉTAS MAGISTROS. *Lettres d'un exilé (928-946)*. Edited and translated with an introduction and notes by L. G. WESTERINK. (Le monde byzantin.) Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1973. Pp. 154. 53.50 fr.

This short book is the revised version of a course that Professor Westerink gave at the Collège de France in 1970-71. It is an excellent, careful, and thorough critical edition of the Greek text, a French translation and analysis of thirty-one letters of the former Byzantine Magistros Nicéas (born ca. 870, died no earlier than 946) while in political exile on the Bithynian Hellespont from 928 to 946. Westerink overcame many difficulties in preparing this edition. The letters, often without identification, were scattered in various manuscript collections of Greek letters. The editor established their authorship as well as the Greek text (primarily from Vienna, Vatican, and Bodleian manuscripts) and then placed them in chronological order. This was not an easy task, because the letters were written in a difficult and highly learned style, often with only the vaguest allusions to specific events. Westerink succeeded in identifying many literary allusions from Biblical and classical sources. This is the first critical edition of all known letters of Nicéas from all available manuscripts.

The editor has written a significant *avant-propos* that contains many valuable insights on general methodological problems and principles in editing Byzantine texts. In his introduction he provides a detailed biographical analysis of the career of Nicéas. He was an important Byzantine official whose daughter Sophia married Christopher, son of Romanos Lekapenos (emperor 919-44), not later than 912. After Romanos Lekapenos gained the throne, Nicéas was exiled and tonsured for allegedly urging his son-in-law, Christopher, to overthrow his father. Nicéas wrote most of these letters, in which he complained of the conditions of his exile, to prominent Byzantine officials, in particular Gregory Protoasekretis and John the Patrician and Mystikos, but even one to Emperor Constantine VII after the fall of the Lekapenid family. Westerink identifies this Nicéas as the author of the *Life of Theoktistos of Lesbos*. The detailed footnotes provide a summary of each letter as well as a conjecture about the date and elucidation of various problems. The editor has appended very useful prosopographical and philological tables, a list of Biblical and classical citations, and a list



of *incipits*. This book provides further documentation and clarification of the history of the early tenth century. It contributes to the understanding of the "Macedonian Renaissance." Byzantine epistolary style, and, of course, the career and mentality of Nicetas Magistros. Westerink has accomplished a difficult task in making these ornate and vague letters usable for other historical researchers.

WALTER EMIL KAEGLI, JR.  
University of Chicago

*Travaux et mémoires*. Volume 5. (Histoire et civilisation de Byzance: Travaux et mémoires. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance.) Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1973. Pp. 410. 160 fr.

This volume is the fifth in a series that has been issued since 1965 by the Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance at Paris under the direction of Professor Paul Lemerle of the Collège de France. All told, it seems to conform to the excellent standards of scholarship set by the earlier volumes.

Like its predecessors, volume 5 includes works of various lengths, the longest one here (144 pages) being a study by Lemerle of the Paulicians in Asia Minor. This is followed by thirteen other articles among which are the following: Irène Sorlin discusses in a most illuminating fashion the transmission of Byzantine historical literature into Russia from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. J.-A. Foucault gives twelve unpublished chapters from the work of Nicephorus Uranus in the original Greek and a French translation. Léonidas Mavromatis disputes the traditional date of 1282 for the fall of Skoplje to the Serbs; and instead he maintains without being able to be more specific that it took place sometime in the 1290s, before 1297. Bariša Krekić draws on a Venetian document of 1396 to extend our knowledge of the connections of the Bulgarian Asenid dynasty in Byzantium. The numerous question marks appearing on a genealogical chart accompanying this article (p. 348) point out dramatically how much is still unknown about descent in that family. Jean-Pierre Sodini investigates a fragment found on Cyprus, which he says has been wrongly attributed to the era of Justinian I whereas more likely it came from the reign of Tiberius I. In line with his investigation Sodini has included a most useful chart (p. 383) comparing the imperial titles and designations used by the emperors Justinian I, Justin II, Tiberius I, Maurice, and Heraclius.

The articles described above are examples of the wide variety of subjects that this volume covers; other articles, not cited here, range from such subjects as geography to a fourteenth-century document dealing with the pronoiia system.

Of all the contributions to this volume the most significant is surely Lemerle's study of the Paulicians in Asia Minor. Basing his work in large part on texts printed in Greek and translated into French in volume 4 of the series of *Travaux et mémoires*, Lemerle has greatly elucidated some previously obscure aspects of the history and teachings of the Paulician sect. Fortunately for the scholar, the article has been separately indexed within the volume making it a much easier reference tool. Lemerle has also included a thorough, annotated bibliography in which he at times disputes the conclusions of other authors. For example, he takes issue with some basic matters in Nina G. Garsoïan's *The Paulician Heresy: A Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire* (1967). This is particularly significant because the Garsoïan work is well on its way to becoming a standard source on the Paulicians, as is evidenced by Arnold Toynbee's heavy reliance on it in his *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (1973), pages 652-84. Briefly, Lemerle takes the stand, for example, that among the Greek sources Peter of Sicily (Petrus Siculus) and Peter the Abbot (Petrus Hegumenus) were the same person and that he really did visit Tephrike in 869, a fact that has been questioned by Garsoïan even though Peter himself wrote about it in his *History*. In another example Lemerle questions the reliance placed on an eighteenth-century document to form the basis for the work edited and translated by F. C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth: A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia* (1898). Conybeare's book, it might be noted, is used much more approvingly by Garsoïan and Toynbee.

Scholars in the past have not readily agreed on some aspects of the history of the Paulicians. Lemerle's conclusions should in all probability lead to further discussion and debate. The point is that his views are expressed with clarity and care—the same kind of care that marks his overall direction of the entire volume of *Travaux et mémoires* in which this work appears.

GEORGE J. MARCOPOULOS  
Tufts University

## MODERN EUROPE

LOUISE CUYLER. *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 257. \$34.50.

The musical history of imperial, ducal, and princely courts of the Renaissance has so far not attracted a great number of scholars, in spite of the wealth of materials both artistic and historical. A certain kind of mind is required for research in this area: that of a historian with an impeccable technique in dealing with original documents, archival and civil, and with a motivation that stems from a knowledge and love of the music of some special epoch. It is for this reason that a musicologist usually attacks the problem, armed with such skills as may be available in a discipline other than that of political or social history. If the results are occasionally disappointing, in this particular case they are remarkably successful, for Dr. Cuyler has devoted the first half of her study to the life and personality of Maximilian I, reserving musical aspects of his reign to the second half of the book.

This proves to be a generally practical division of materials, allowing the author to concentrate on one topic at a time. She describes Maximilian's many journeys with accuracy and insight, filling in the political and cultural background in the Netherlands with a sure hand, and she rightly draws attention to the happiness of his marriage with Mary of Burgundy and the profound influence of northern customs upon the remainder of his life. Although his second marriage, to Bianca Maria Sforza in 1493, appears to have brought him little in the way of comfort or companionship, it considerably enriched the Habsburg coffers and may indirectly have contributed toward the establishment of an improved team of court musicians. Another powerful factor was undoubtedly the acquisition of the Tyrol, whose resources both fiscal and musical made a considerable difference to Maximilian's life-style. Woodcuts depicting the musicians have come down to us in the well-known publication, *Triumphzug des Kaisers Maximilian I*, and several plates serve to decorate the present book. Reference is made only to the reprint of 1883-84 (Vienna), a footnote on page 48 mentioning that detailed information is to be found in chapter five. But here the reader finds only a few lines on page 85, with no hint of the fact that the originals date from about 1516, when artists from Augsburg and Nuremberg,

such as Kölderer, Springinklee, Beck, and Dürer, united their talents in homage to a great ruler.

The musical section presents scores and commentaries for several representative works by Isaac, Rener, Senfl, and of course Paul Hofhaimer, the organist who ranked as one of the greatest of his time and who obviously plays a solo role in the organ-chariot of the *Triumphzug*. The inclusion of a small gramophone record makes it possible to hear some of the music discussed and illustrated. The Kyrie from Isaac's Mass *Magnae Deus Potentiae* is given in a version with alternating vocal polyphony and organ settings, the chant being present in both choral and instrumental parts. Polyphonic songs by Senfl and Isaac and organ settings of *Ein fröhlich Wesen* round out this useful compendium of scores and performances, which taken together with the book help the reader to understand the notable achievements of musicians half a millennium distant from us, yet close enough to enchant us still with their fine compositions.

DENIS STEVENS

Columbia University

HANS J. HILLERBRAND. *The World of the Reformation*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. x, 229. \$10.00.

In this engrossing interpretation of the Reformation, Professor Hillerbrand addresses himself to numerous questions being raised today by sociologists and anthropologists as well as theologians and historians. Fully aware of the complexities of the period, he avoids all monolithic explanations in his attempt to provide students of the period with an approach that is both perceptive and dispassionate. He states at the outset that his objectives are to provide an outline of the course of events of the sixteenth century and to put these events into an interpretive frame of reference. Although he considers the Reformation the most important development in Europe during this period, he insists that one cannot understand it apart from its interrelationship with society as a whole.

After examining the status of religion in society in the early years of the sixteenth century to ascertain weaknesses and tensions that shed light on the causes of the religious upheaval, Hillerbrand gives a spirited account of the rise of Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, Anabaptism, and Calvinism; traces the political events that ultimately led to war and the

Peace of Augsburg in Germany; discusses the Reformation in England to the rise of Puritanism under Elizabeth I; devotes a chapter to the Catholic reaction to the formation of the Society of Jesus; and concludes with a summary of consequences of the Reformation, particularly with reference to the role of women and changes in government, society, and culture.

Among Hillerbrand's most helpful contributions to our understanding of the Reformation are his discussions of the "deepened spirituality" of the leading reformers during the early Reformation, his evaluation of the radical movements, and his summaries of the interrelation of Reformation and society, especially of Reformation and "regime." He concludes that the Reformation was successful only in those countries in which the governments supported it, as in certain German states, England, Sweden, and Scotland, and that governmental support was the consequence of a great variety of forces. He maintains that the Reformation influenced society primarily by furthering poor relief, improving education, and stressing the importance of the laity, emphases that fitted well with the increasing importance of secular authorities in religious affairs in Catholic as well as Protestant countries. Scholars may raise questions about some of Hillerbrand's generalizations but they will not ignore them.

HAROLD J. GRIMM  
Ohio State University

SALO WITTMAYER BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion, 1200-1650*. Volume 15, *Resettlement and Exploration*. 2d rev. ed.; New York: Columbia University Press; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1973. Pp. 550. \$15.00.

The fifteenth volume of Salo Baron's history of the Jews deals with what he calls "Resettlement and Exploration" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Four developments are examined: the emergence of a free Jewish society in the Netherlands; the slow acceptance of Jews in France and England; the deterioration of the situation of those of Jewish ancestry in Spain and Portugal; and the role of New Christians and crypto-Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires. These themes are all fundamentally related to the fate of the Iberian Jews, forced either into exile or into an internal exile in their homeland, hunted and haunted by the Inquisition. Their quest for

security and for an opportunity for religious and economic expression took various forms depending on the circumstances they found themselves in. The results of this interaction, especially in the situation dealt with in this volume, established the bases for the Jewish communities in Western Europe and the New World and led to the first significant mixing of Jews and Christians in the modern world. This interaction was of major importance in the making of the modern world, both economically and intellectually.

The so-called Marrano dispersion and explosion into Western Europe has been the subject of a great amount of recent research. Professor Baron has put a vast collection of this material, both recent and older, into a systematic account. He starts by showing how the Dutch Jerusalem came into existence and developed. The Amsterdam Jewish community, consisting mainly of Iberian refugees, was the first free Jewish community in the West. The inpouring of escapees from the Inquisition and from Christian intolerance produced tremendous economic and intellectual ferment. The roles played by Marrano merchants and bankers in the Dutch economic miracle of the seventeenth century are gradually being appreciated. The intellectual role needs much more examination. A few figures, Da Costa, Menasseh ben Israel, and Spinoza, have been studied. They and many others like Morteira and Orobio de Castro played seminal roles in the cross-fertilization of ideas that took place in Holland, which were then contributed to the modern intellectual world. They were a unique group in Jewish history—Jewish intellectuals formed in the general currents of European Christian ideas, attempting to comprehend Judaism in seventeenth-century terms. Some came to reject Judaism, while others tried to express what was viable in the Jewish tradition in terms of seventeenth-century thought. They provided the basic data on Judaism for their non-Jewish contemporaries and interacted with them. Further evaluation of the role played by the Amsterdam community in the history of ideas needs to be done. The role of some of its thinkers in the Messianic movement of Shabbatai Zevi will be treated later on in Baron's volumes.

The unofficial Jewish groups and individuals in France and England played a lesser, but sometimes very significant, role. Although both countries officially banned Jews, Spanish and Portuguese refugees in small numbers came, almost always as "New Christians." Some

played important commercial, financial, and professional roles (including, in the case of Dr. Rodrigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's doctor). Baron puts together evidence to show that though the medieval prejudices and regulations did not disappear, there was a gradual social and political acceptance of Jews in France and England, which formed the basis for the modern communities in those countries. The source material used by Baron is occasionally doubtful, and some intriguing and suggestive material is omitted (such as Pierre Bayle's many indications of who was of Jewish origin or a secret Jew in France, and Richard Simon's data, including information from his Jewish friend, Jona Salvador, of an underground *yeshiva* functioning in Paris). Documents I have examined indicate that there were more underground Jewish activities in Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Montpellier than Baron's account suggests, and that these activities influenced Montaigne, his cousin, Francisco Sanches, his friend, and Etienne La Boétie among others. Also some recent research suggests that Postel was the actual author of Bodin's *Heptaplomeres*. This would account for the rich knowledge of Judaism in the work. (Also Bayle states that Michel de l'Hôpital was the son of a Jewish doctor.) Jewish ideas carried into southern France probably played an important role in the French Renaissance. Also, the New Christians in France seem to have generated a genuine Marrano theology: that is, neither Jewish nor Christian but Jewish Christian. La Peyrère, who is briefly treated by Baron, seems to have had a purely Marrano vision, and his pre-Adamite theory and Messianism greatly affected other Messianists as well as the budding Bible critics in Amsterdam, including young Spinoza.

The role of the Iberian refugees in England is clearer in the political sphere but, except for a few cases, is known only episodically. The role of Jews in the growing Hebraic concerns of the Puritans and Dissenters is perhaps better known. Baron composes the available data into a picture showing gradual acceptance of Jews in England. The crucial debate about resettlement of the Jews under Cromwell is postponed until a later volume.

The shift from the glimmerings of hope in Holland, France, and England to the increasing oppression of the remnants of the Sephardism in Iberia makes a most depressing picture. The Inquisition pressed onward in its campaign to force the New Christians not only into rigid Catholicism but also into a permanent second-

class status because of the taint of their Jewish ancestry. The perseverance of the victims has been one of the thrilling chapters in modern Jewish history. Many contemporary scholars of Spanish and Portuguese thought are engaged in the attempt to assess the role of New Christians in Iberia's Golden Age.

A question of current and excited controversy is how Jewish the Marranos were. Baron ignores the debate and accepts the evidence of the Inquisition trials, reports from refugees, and comments in Spanish and Portuguese literature of the time. These suggest that a crypto-Jewish world persisted, though deprived of any serious direct contact with Judaic sources. Others argue that the Inquisition created crypto-Judaism by forcing people to confess that it existed. Some evidence definitely suggests there was such a reality, while other data indicate that it existed only potentially and flourished only when New Christians escaped to Italy, Holland, or Turkey. My own present view is that the Inquisition, by making it impossible for New Christians to be just Christians, created a special consciousness in its potential victims who then must have sought ways of making their situation meaningful. Examples are Marrano theologies in which being a Jewish Christian was central to God's World; crypto-Jewish theologies in which adhering to any fragment of Jewish tradition was of enormous significance; and liberal and secular views in which Jewish and Christian views could be joined or even dropped.

It is difficult to judge whether New Christians were participating in Jewish, Marrano, Christian, or secular history, except in cases where they were forced by the Inquisition to defend their beliefs or when they escaped to Jewish communities outside of Iberia. The Inquisition's attempt to suppress them en bloc forced them to act and think in many ways that were to lead to the creation of new intellectual and social worlds.

This comes out most forcefully in Baron's last section, where he discusses what happened in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, especially in the New World. Although the number of New Christians who came to America was small, the Marrano drama was probably played out more completely here than in Iberia. The Inquisition was late in being established and was never able to set up as complete a spy and police system. People could drift into the remoter parts of the vast, newly conquered territories and could often disguise their past. The opportunities for economic improvement



were great and the need for people to play productive economic roles still greater. Our main glimpse of what was going on comes from the Mexican and Peruvian Inquisitions' attempts to stamp out secret Judaism. The awe-inspiring, self-constructed Judaism of Luis de Carvajal is probably the best documented case of what crypto-Judaism was like. The Complicado Grande of Peru indicates the extent of latent or secret Judaism among the entrepreneurs of the New World. The emergence of the first free Jewish community in the Western Hemisphere, in Dutch Brazil, indicates the economic, political, cultural, and religious links that could quickly develop between the flourishing Jewish world of Amsterdam and the latent one of colonial Brazil.

Baron, who usually leans to the most cautious side in assessing the evidence, is willing to consider some of the more avant-garde views about the Jewish role in the New World. He pleads for an open mind about the possibility, being argued by Cyrus Gordon, of a Semitic role in pre-Columbian America, and he tends to accept Seymour Liebman's evaluation of the important role of New Christians in the development of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

One suggestion in the material about the New World that deserves more examination is that New Spain may have been seen as a crucial part of the Messianic drama by many New Christians both in the New and Old Worlds. Long before the New England theologians gave their Messianic interpretation to their colonization, Spanish and Portuguese thinkers were interpreting the amazing conquests as a crucial stage in the Divine Drama. The fascination with the possibility that the Indians were the Lost Tribes; the attempts to save the Indians by the New Christian, Las Casas, and his followers and to construct an earthly paradise in Chiapas; the establishment of the Shrine of Guadalupe, the site of the first and most important Divine event in the Western Hemisphere—all of this may be part of a pattern of the Messianic Age being intimately linked with the discovery and conquest of America.

Baron's fifteenth volume contains a wealth of riches on the Marrano experience in Western Europe, America, and the rest of the overseas Iberian empires. He has magisterially pulled together an incredible amount of material, available in so many different languages. The area covered, essentially the basic Jewish contact and involvement with Western European intellectual, social, and economic forces

in the beginning of the modern world, is one that has not been generally treated or appreciated. The book teems with data and suggestive possibilities. Since much fundamental research is going on in this area, many corrections and re-evaluations may soon be needed. Baron's later volumes on the developments of seventeenth-century Jewish Messianism and on Jewish emancipation will probably reflect this newer scholarship.

RICHARD H. POPKIN  
Washington University

ALAN G. R. SMITH. *Science and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New York: Science History Publications. 1972. Pp. 216. \$8.95.

This little book describes the way in which scientific discoveries of the sixteenth century were refined, expanded, and synthesized in the seventeenth century, in that rising crescendo that we have come to know as the scientific revolution. Men steeped in the tradition of Aristotle, Galen, and Ptolemy suddenly discovered they could no longer "save the appearances" of a world with which they had long been comfortable. As Herbert Butterfield has put it, man began to pick up questions "from the other end of the stick."

This age saw the development of many modern mathematical tools—logarithms, analytical geometry, calculus, and statistical analysis. It witnessed the invention of modern instrumentation—thermometer, barometer, vacuum pump, microscope, and telescope. Contributions of Bacon, Descartes, and Galileo became the foundation for modern scientific methodology. And at the end Newton seemed to tie a tidy ribbon around the neat package of the mechanical universe.

The revolutionary impact of new techniques, instruments, methodology, and discovery severely attacked the centrality of man and his world in the scheme of things. It became more difficult to see man as the "apple of God's eye," and the world as "God's footstool." Scientific ideas of the period contributed greatly to *la crise de la conscience européenne*, described in Paul Hazard's discussion of the secularization of thought in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Dr. Smith's work provides an overview of the scientific advances and the creative genius that characterized this age of revolution. It is greatly enriched by the inclusion of 135 pertinent illustrations. A short bibliography serves

as a beginning guide to those who wish to read further and at greater depth.

The scholar who is well read in the field will find nothing here that is startling or new. He may choose to quarrel with certain interpretations. I find too much of the "great man" concept present in the argument that if Newton had not been present in the late seventeenth century, history might have been quite different. There are those who will hold, without detracting from Newton's *tour de force*, that the times demanded a Newton and that if it had not been Sir Isaac it would have been someone else who provided the grand synthesis as well as those who will not agree that the scientific revolution was really made by a small handful of men.

Those seeking an introduction to the age of science will find this work useful, but at the same time it will pose some minor problems. Many names are dropped in these few pages with little or no biographical or other background information. Hopefully this will serve as a stimulus to wider reading.

GLEN R. DRISCOLL  
University of Toledo

HOWELL A. LLOYD. *The Rouen Campaign, 1590-1592: Politics, Warfare and the Early-Modern State*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 215. \$16.00.

This is diplomatic history with a difference. An account of a single episode, the siege of League-held Rouen in 1591-92 by a combined Anglo-French force under Henry IV and the earl of Essex, it is, despite the author's claim to be writing "old-fashioned political narrative," an analytical exploration of the interplay of internal and external politics, of administrative and intellectual history, of military and political processes, of personality and institutional structures, all focused on an important event. As narrative it does not quite succeed, for the exposition is too compressed and the thread of development too often broken: the author has not taken his skills from a Mattingly. We get too much detail that is not relevant to the flow of events, not enough to make it transparently clear. Yet what emerges, if flawed as storytelling, is still perceptive, informed, and illuminating. Circling round the episode of the siege itself, Lloyd examines the diplomacy and the military activity of England, France, Spain, and the Spanish Netherlands, as they were reflected in deliberations and decisions culminating in the investment and relief of Rouen. He rejects the

recent denigration of Elizabeth's policy by Charles Wilson in his *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London, 1970), seeing her conduct in the Rouen affair as realistic in her evaluation of her resources, yet bold in using what she had to maximum effect. He also defends Henry IV against recent critics, not by making him out to be a great captain like his antagonist Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, but as a master of politics who saw the defeat of Parma as the key to his own success or failure, and enough of a general to achieve by strategy what he could not do by tactics. The siege of Rouen failed thanks to Parma's relief, yet, Lloyd shows, it was his inability to follow it up with destruction of the French royal army that led up to his withdrawal and thus to Henry's reconquest of his capital and kingdom. The final chapter of the book is an examination of the significance of the campaign that emphasizes both the limitations of the sixteenth-century state in the conduct of diplomatic and military affairs, and the deep concern on the part of all the major rulers for legalism and legality alike. The former conclusion emerges directly from the content of the book; the latter, important as it is, is an obiter dictum that deserves a separate study in itself. Perhaps Lloyd will undertake it; this book suggests he would do it well.

HERBERT H. ROWEN  
Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick

LUZI SCHUCAN. *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus "ad adolescentes": Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus*. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 133.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1973. Pp. 254.

It is one of the paradoxes in the history of literature that Basil the Great has been better known to a very wide circle of readers by one of his minor, nontheological works rather than by his major publications on theology on which his greatness rests. This minor work, "On How Young Men Could Profit from the Study of Greek Literature," is the theme of Schucan's treatise. This study was originally presented in 1971 as a dissertation at the University of Basel. It constitutes an important scholarly contribution to Christian humanism.

St. Basil, a deep student of both Christian and secular literature, thought that he could offer good guidance to the youth in the reading and appreciation of classical Greek literature. In a way this short but brilliant booklet marks



a sort of revival of the interest in classical antiquity. Schucan undertook to trace the manner in which this work was accepted in Byzantium, then transmitted into Western Europe through Italy. At first translated into Latin by Leonardo Bruni Aretino (1374-1444), it soon appeared in an Italian translation and was then followed by an *editio princeps* of the Greek text (1495). Eventually the work was received and studied fruitfully in Germany, the Lowlands, Spain, France, and England. According to Schucan, the booklet proved to be most influential and useful during the Renaissance, and quite helpful in the nineteenth century during the conflicts of school curricula.

In an appendix Schucan gives some manuscript statistics, which more than substantiate his thesis on the extent of the acceptance of Basil's work in Western Europe. Between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries 65 Greek manuscripts appeared. Of the Latin translation of Leonardo Bruni there are 306 manuscripts spread all over Europe and the United States.

In his closing paragraph Schucan expresses much surprise on discovering in the Mt. Athos manuscript catalogs an unusual phenomenon with respect to the number of manuscripts produced of this work between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries: none in the sixteenth century; one in the seventeenth; twenty-five in the eighteenth; and two in the nineteenth. He asks the question whether the intellectually very conservative Mt. Athos had a humanistic movement during the eighteenth century. He finds the answer in the intellectual activity of Eugenios Voulgaris, to whom he attributes the founding of an academy. A more recent source than those Schucan cites, however, states that the Athonias Academy was founded in 1743 "thanks chiefly to the initiative of . . . Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis . . . who became its first director." According to this source (C. Cavarinos, *Modern Orthodox Saints: St. Cosmas Aitolos* [1971], 61), Eugenios Voulgaris directed this academy from 1753 to 1758. The fact is that the Greeks in the eighteenth century were undergoing an intellectual reawakening under inspiring teachers in preparation for the Revolution of 1821, and the work of St. Basil proved to be most helpful for this unusual task.

JOHN P. CAVARNOS  
Portland State University

WOLFGANG MÜLLER *et al.* *Die Kirche im Zeitalter des Absolutismus und der Aufklärung.* (Hand-

buch der Kirchengeschichte, volume 5.) Freiburg: Herder. 1970. Pp. xxviii, 669.

A handbook of Church history in six or seven large volumes seems to be something of a contradiction in terms; and the valuable series in which this work appears, sponsored by German Catholic scholars, invites comparison with the standard French *Histoire de l'Église*, which it is now approaching in scope. Thus the present volume corresponds almost exactly to the nineteenth in the French series, by E. Preclin and E. Jarry, *Les luttes politiques et doctrinales aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, which appeared almost twenty years ago. It is less rich bibliographically, and it lacks the remarkable architectonic structure that makes the French series so convenient a work of reference. In the present more ecumenical climate it also lacks the implicit conviction of the earlier work that a history of "the Church" is simply a history of Roman Catholicism, and it includes chapters on Anglican spirituality and Russian Orthodoxy; on the other hand it gives almost no attention to the Protestant churches on the Continent, especially outside France. As its title suggests, it is also more oriented to politics than the French work, which found more space for Catholic spirituality, the religious orders, and the encounter with secular culture. On the other hand it gives fuller treatment to Catholicism in Central and Eastern Europe. Though it gives substantial attention to France, it is thus, in some respects, a more balanced work.

It also seems clearer about the general character of the period and the problems of presenting the history of the Church during this time. The century and a half from the Peace of Westphalia to the French Revolution is not, on the whole, an inspiring age in the development of Christianity. The influence of churches—the need to speak now in the plural is itself indicative of a new situation—over political, social, and cultural life entered into a decisive retreat that has continued to the present. Indeed, churches everywhere now tended to be subordinated to the interests of particular governments, as much in Catholicism through such movements as Gallicanism and Febronianism as in the Protestant state churches or in Russian Orthodoxy. The papacy itself was engaged in a constant and only partly successful effort to avoid becoming an instrument in the rivalries among the major Catholic powers. Thus, even in this work of Roman Catholic scholarship, the papacy fades into the background; no longer at the center of religious and ecclesiastical life, the

popes are relegated to a few short and separate chapters.

The present volume is therefore not so much a history of "the Church" as a collection of the histories of particular churches, chiefly Roman Catholic. Accordingly it required a wider collaboration than its predecessors in the series, and its discrete chapters are the work of specialists of various national backgrounds. The late Louis Cognet was responsible for the chapters on France (nearly a third of the whole), Heribert Raab for the Church in Germany, Burkhardt Schneider for the papacy, Quintin Aldea for Spain and Portugal, Patrick J. Corish for Britain and Ireland, Bernhard Stasiewski for the churches of Eastern Europe, Johannes Beckmann for overseas missions, and Wolfgang Müller for religious life and culture. As a result of this fragmentation, the editors found it necessary to provide a synoptic introduction to give some sense of the unity of the whole, though their emphasis on the underlying continuities of Catholic piety and on the need for a balanced estimate of the period that gives due place to its persistent spirituality is not altogether supported by the structure of the volume.

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA  
University of California,  
Berkeley

KARL F. HELLEINER. *Free Trade and Frustration: Anglo-Austrian Negotiations, 1860-70*. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 152. \$12.50.

This book is a painstaking study, based on documents in both the Austrian State Archives and the British Public Record Office, of the negotiations leading up to the Anglo-Austrian commercial treaties of 1865 and 1869. Karl F. Helleiner here, as in his earlier book *Imperial Loans: A Study in Financial and Diplomatic History* (1965), works in an area where economics and international relations overlap. Much of the frustration felt by the negotiators in *Free Trade and Frustration* seems to be due precisely to this fact, for the Austrians and British had very different ideas of what economic diplomacy involved. The Austrian government, fresh from its humiliation in Italy, and moving toward an even greater humiliation in Germany, was primarily interested in friendly political relations. The British, triumphant after the conclusion of the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty with France in 1860, wished to extend its benefits to an ever-widening area of

Europe. In Austria it was primarily the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that pressed for continued talks, in the face of the protectionist views of the Ministry of Commerce, the rest of the cabinet, articulate business opinion, and after its creation in 1861, the *Reichsrat*. On the British side, while most of the negotiations were carried on by the regular ambassador, Lord Bloomfield, the zeal for free trade that inspired the discussions came from the Board of Trade, which provided the second negotiator, Louis Mallet, and the Chambers of Commerce, led by an M.P. from Newcastle-upon-Tyne with the improbable name of Somerset Beaumont. The British desires were nothing if not concrete: reduction of the Austrian export duty on rags to help the paper industry, lower tariffs in general, and, failing that, at least reduced duties on cottons and woollens. The Austrians, on the other hand, operated in an atmosphere of confusion, wishing to sign a treaty and yet evade the consequences of signing it. Helleiner concludes that in the end Britain did not fare too badly, considering how little she had to offer as a result of prior tariff reductions. The whole experience was enough, however, to dampen British enthusiasm for commercial conventions, and to convince free trade advocates of the tenacity of protectionism.

The book is charmingly written. With Somerset Beaumont charging into Vienna, first for free trade and then for the Barings, with such chapter headings as "A treaty at last," it creates a Trollopean atmosphere in which Phineas Finn and Madame Max Goesler would have been thoroughly at home.

EDITH M. LINK  
Hunter College,  
City University of New York

KEITH MALLORY and ARVID OTTAR. *The Architecture of War*. New York: Pantheon Books. 1973. Pp. 307. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$6.95.

Historians of military affairs will find little solace in the fact that not only are political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists generally in the van of the so-called new military history but they have been joined recently by architects and city planners. As the trend toward an ecological approach to the field continues, Cliophytes would do well to pay attention to such works as Horst De La Croix's *Military Considerations in City Planning: Fortifications* (1971) and *The Architecture of War*. The latter work especially illustrates the influence of mil-

itary architecture on warfare and a contradiction between the applications of sophisticated technology and weaponry and the misapplications of discredited military strategy.

This work evolved from an initial study done at the University of Bath in 1970. The authors originally intended to identify a relationship between the development of modern architecture and military development in terms of both military construction and weaponry "spin-off." They readily admit that the dearth of secondary sources led them to restructure their outline and point toward a basic description of the development of military architecture in the twentieth century. Still, the authors admit that this remains anything but a definitive work. It treats Northwest Europe exclusively and only the period 1900-45. Such pertinent subjects as factories, granaries, and power stations during World War II are neglected, and military bridges remain absent from the discussion. In terms of fortifications, however, flak towers, bunkers, etc., the authors have contributed a pathfinding work. We see, for instance, how fixed fortifications in World War I were first discredited and then, with increased sophistication in weaponry and military theory, rehabilitated to the point where they dominated defense budgets between the wars. The fiction of the impregnable fortress—from Verdun through Maginot to the Atlantic and West walls deluded planners throughout Europe. Nonetheless, the orthodox fortifications led to unique and experimental structures—concrete bunkers for the citizenry, deep pens for submarines—and military utility even contributed to prefab housing. The superb illustrations show how many designs of fortifications have led to what might be termed the "bunker school" of architecture—an interesting facet of war's impact on civilization.

One of the study's conclusions literally begs for further study by interdisciplinary teams: "From an architectural point of view the interesting thing about military architecture is its responsiveness and adaptability to events—some would say more so than its civilian counterpart." Thus, if military-affairs historians should pay more attention to the mysteries of technology and technicians when analyzing policy and operations, one need but surmise similar dividends that can accrue for architectural, social, entrepreneurial nay, even political and diplomatic practitioners in the discipline.

B. FRANKLIN COOLING  
U.S. Army Military History  
Research Collection

OSWALD HAUSER. *England und das Dritte Reich: Eine dokumentierte Geschichte der englisch-deutschen Beziehungen von 1933 bis 1939, auf Grundunveröffentlichter Akten aus dem britischen Staatsarchiv*. Volume 1, 1933 bis 1936. Stuttgart: Seewald Verlag. 1972. Pp. 317. DM 38.

This first volume of a projected two-volume documentary history of Anglo-German relations throughout the period 1933-39 is divided into three main sections dealing respectively with the disarmament question in 1933-34, British efforts in the following year to negotiate a *modus vivendi* with Nazi Germany, and finally the reoccupation of the Rhineland and its consequences. An appendix reproducing thirty relevant documents, some translated into German, but most in the original English or French, occupies some fifty-four pages at the end of the volume.

Although we are promised a fresh appraisal of Anglo-German relations in the light of material from recently released papers in the Public Record Office, London, it is disappointing to record that very many of the British government and other documents cited by the author have already been published in such well-known collections as *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, *Documents diplomatiques français*, and not least *Documents on German Foreign Policy*. Professor Hauser's collection of lengthy German translations of British cabinet and Foreign Office papers offers little that is new concerning the origins and execution of British policy toward the National Socialist regime; nor will readers acquainted with the carefully detailed works of Jacobsen, Hillgruber, Hildebrand, or Wendt, to mention but a few who have dealt with aspects of German foreign policy in the interwar period, find significant additional insights on Anglo-German relations as seen from the German side. The author's contribution to the large and steadily growing literature on appeasement is unexceptionable but again scarcely novel: there were proponents of appeasement in all sectors of British public life, he concludes; their motives were often mixed; and England's overall weakness dictated both support of French demands for security and a simultaneous attempt to reach an accommodation on the entire range of contentious issues that envenomed relations with Berlin.

The book's episodic treatment of individual subjects makes it difficult to descry the outlines of any wood amid the familiar trees: even in a documentary collection such as this some consideration of nonofficial sources would have been welcome. It is, finally, somewhat less than

helpful to discover that many Foreign Office documents are cited solely by volume number or by incomplete document numbers, thus placing an unnecessary obstacle in the path of readers who may choose to attempt their own interpretations or indeed translations of individual documents or the often revealing minutes appended to them.

A. J. SHERMAN  
St. Antony's College,  
Oxford

E. E. RICH, editor. *St Catherine's College, Cambridge, 1473-1973: A Volume of Essays to Commemorate the Quincentenary of the Foundation of the College*. [Cambridge: St Catherine's College.] 1973. Pp. viii, 314. £6.50.

St. Catharine's College was established half a millennium ago. For most of its history it has been a small Cambridge college, much inferior in reputation to its wealthy and more glamorous neighbors. It began with a high-minded, spiritual-educational ideal, rather more high-minded than most educational ideals, but for a number of reasons was not always able to live up to the religious hopes of its founder. Today St. Catharine's is a flourishing college of moderate size. Probably at no point in its history has it been a more successful educational institution than in the twentieth century.

In commemoration of its five-hundredth anniversary, the retiring master of the college has edited a volume of essays covering various aspects of the foundation's history. He himself has contributed a long narrative, the longest in the volume, on the history of the college in the nineteenth century. Other contributions discuss the origins of the house and the reasons for its name, an interesting excursion in hagiography. There is an essay on the relationship of the college to the Church of England and one on the college silver, an indispensable part of all properly conceived Oxbridge college histories and usually containing surprises for the social historian.

Dr. Porter surveys the history of the college from the early sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century, making merry as he goes, scattering assorted jokes and allusions to the present. His essay roams widely and jumps rather too freely. But it contains many interesting asides and provides helpful references to current debates concerning the changing social structure of Tudor England. The final contribution by T. R. Henn brings the college history up to date. He has sensible things to say about

some of the developments that have altered the characteristics of student life in the past half century.

On the whole this quincentenary volume of essays follows closely the pattern of writing established for the college history genre. An exception is the analysis of Professor Oliver MacDonagh. The author of a notable contribution to the study of bureaucracy in Victorian England, MacDonagh has constructed a brief and valuable overview of the rise and fall of St. Catharine's in the nineteenth century. Rise and fall, he reminds us, are not solely attributable to internal vices and virtues. The historical factors favoring success in one period are different from those of another. Sometimes institutions are at fault for willfully refusing to take cognizance of changing circumstances and sometimes they are staffed by incompetents; but at other times their resources are simply inadequate to cope with fundamental departures from established practices and conditions. Seen in this light, state support for weakly endowed institutions like St. Catharine's has been essential to its survival in recent times.

The essays comprising this volume appeal to particular interests. Because an alumnus of Oxford or Cambridge remembers his college more than he recalls his university, the compilers of college history have always had a special public and can therefore dwell affectionately on the details of internal history. In addition college histories have always been invaluable to historians studying the development of universities. Oxford and Cambridge are the oldest surviving collegiate institutions in Europe, and the colleges, being separately founded and endowed, are sufficiently different from one another to justify separate treatment. But historians who have no familiarity with the peculiarities of Oxbridge local history will probably not be as interested in miscellaneous biographical information or discussions of building sites, college infighting, sermons in chapel, and the value of fellowship dividends as those whose lives are in some way tied up with the history of about half a hundred unique institutions.

SHELDON ROTHBLATT  
University of California,  
Berkeley

A. P. MCGOWAN, editor. *The Jacobean Commissions of Enquiry, 1608 and 1618*. (Publications of the Navy Records Society, volume 116.) [London:] the Society. 1971. Pp. xxvii, 319. £4.50.



In early modern England the condition of the Royal Navy was a useful indicator to determine whether a regime was unduly corrupt by contemporary standards. For Elizabeth, as for Charles II and Walpole, the army, the legal and ecclesiastical hierarchies, even the fiscal administration, might legitimately be employed as sources of the patronage essential to the smooth operation of government. But the navy was a different matter, for upon it "under the good providence of God, the wealth, safety and strength of the kingdom chiefly depend." The navy was too vital to the defense of the realm and its burgeoning trade for its functional efficiency to be sacrificed, however importunate the creditors, the favorites, or the party leaders in the Commons.

Since the appearance of Oppenheim's study in 1896 it has been well known that between 1603 and 1618 even the navy lost its special status, and was corroded by the rampant favoritism and pervasive corruption that tainted every facet of James I's government. With Dr. McGowan's edition of the reports of the 1608 and 1618 Commissions of Inquiry the damage wrought by the heads of the naval administration, Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Trevor, and their bevy of parasitic henchmen, secured from punishment by the benign and complacent protection of the king himself, can be documented in detail. It is a lurid record of speculation and swindle that is epitomized in the affair of the *Resistance*. The ship, though built and rigged at the king's expense, was owned by Mansell and Trevor, who leased it to the navy to be part of the fleet carrying the English ambassador to Spain in 1605: it was victualed from official stores, its crew was put on the navy payroll—and then it was employed in a highly remunerative mercantile venture by its owners. Besides its cargo of lead, surplus royal provisions and a couple of pieces of the king's ordnance were sold in Spain.

But, while the Commissions' reports make fascinating reading, the editor might have provided an even more illuminating account of the state of the navy in this period had he chosen to include transcripts of, or at least references to, some of the correspondence of Secretary Coke and, more particularly, of Cranfield, relating to the 1618 investigation. The temperate, even tame, official account takes on a new dimension if read in conjunction with Cranfield's scathing commentary. The rather narrow choice of materials is mirrored in the introduction. McGowan has provided a very thorough survey of Jacobean naval administra-

tion, but some attempt to relate this to the more general investigations of early Stuart government undertaken by Menna Prestwich and Professor Aylmer, whose works are strangely neglected in the commentary, would have been welcome.

CLIVE HOLMES  
Cornell University

ANTONIA FRASER. *Cromwell: The Lord Protector*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1973. Pp. xx, 774. \$12.50.

This extremely detailed biography of Oliver Cromwell will come as something of a disappointment to that legion of admirers, both in the profession and among the general public, whom Lady Fraser acquired with her life of Mary Queen of Scots. It is not merely that the book is long. It is that it fails to do what Fraser did so skillfully in her previous work, to get inside her subject and allow the reader to see the world through that subject's eyes. Admittedly, the Lord Protector had a far more difficult and complicated personality than the Scottish queen, and, of course, his early years are far less well documented. The consequence is that with Cromwell we are always on the outside looking in. The portrait that emerges is one that is not unfamiliar: the hot-headed believer in a cause, who in middle life developed the attributes of statesmanship and military genius, and who was humane, tolerant, fond of music, an excellent family man—anything but the grim bluenose of the Puritan stereotype.

The portrait is convincing enough; I, for one, am prepared to accept Fraser's view of Cromwell's personality. The weakness of the book lies in its methodology. Fraser has opted to paint her picture in detail and at length, by telling us every single fact she deems relevant about Cromwell—warts and all; she does not gloss over Cromwell's blunders and faults, notably in Ireland. She sticks so closely to her subject, indeed, that until she reaches the last third of the book, which deals with the five years of the Protectorate, there is no room for the wider context—we know why Cromwell disliked the government of Charles I, but there is no discussion of the broader issues involved in the coming of the Civil War. The author in fact takes for granted a great deal of knowledge on the part of her readers. This is perhaps justified for her fellow Britons, but since the book is aimed at the general public, one wonders if the ordinary reader across the Atlantic will

understand such things as the casual reference to the gentry controversy on page 13.

The book of course has many good features. It is well written and factually accurate. There are not many slips, and they are on peripheral matters like the massacre of Amboina, which is given two different dates, both wrong—though it is surprising to find the biographer of Mary Queen of Scots twice referring to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland as the National Assembly (pp. 57, 68). The descriptions of Cromwell's battles are excellent, though that of Dunbar would have benefited from a chart. And for me the best chapter in the book, called "Grandeur," is a really fine description of Oliver's court as Lord Protector—with a stress on the trappings of royalty—and of society and culture in his capital. This is one chapter that all students of the period can read with profit. But on the whole the book seems to me to fall between two stools. Its interest for scholars working in the field of Civil War history is not very great, and in fairness to Fraser she is not writing for them. For her intended audience, the cultivated general reader, there is simply too much matter and not enough psychological excitement. Even granting the average man's appetite for history, particularly his own country's Civil War history, it seems likely that a much shorter study would have accomplished Fraser's purpose of "humanizing" Cromwell (p. xiii) much more effectively.

MAURICE LEE, JR.  
Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick

GERALD M. and LOIS O. STRAKA. *A Certainty in the Succession*. (The Borzoi History of England. Volume 4, 1640–1815.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1973. Pp. xvii, 235. \$7.95.

According to the general editor, the volumes in this series have "taken shape around two concerns: giving scope to narrative, where the story of change was itself dramatic in social terms rather than in dynastic ones; and allowing room for more analytical work, where this seemed to point to an understanding of why changes took place." One could wish that the authors of this book had pursued these precepts with more rigorous attention to the data. Their grand strategy imposes an artificial distinction between two eras dividing at 1714, one described as "the epoch of the landed aristocracy and gentry," the second as "the epoch of the merchant prince and the industrial pioneer."

As their first chapter indicates, however, the aggregation of estates and the development of a wealthy landed oligarchy continued unchecked through the century after 1714—although, overlooking Mingay's splendid study of English landed society, they miss the chance to sketch its nature in firm outline. In other similar ways they fail to give shape to their story. For instance, there is no exposition of the constitutional and the commercial theories of the eighteenth century as the keys to understanding both the breach with the American colonies and much else of British history under George III; there is no clear explanation of what naval power meant to Great Britain during the French wars, 1793–1815, or of the ways in which the navy was used; the whole point of the Trafalgar campaign is missed. And not only is there a lack of major guidelines in understanding. Inaccuracy in detail abounds. Thus (pp. 124–25), in no English shire except Cumberland could "a lord . . . ensure both the nomination and election of the county's two representatives"; many rotten (and pocket) boroughs with small electorates had not "declined" but had been so since the time of their enfranchisement; not all English boroughs apart from London sent two representatives: five sent one only; Scottish and Welsh constituencies are overlooked; the borough of Haslemere was not in Lord Lonsdale's hands in Walpole's day; the duke of Newcastle (according to Namier's careful investigations) could nominate conditionally to about twelve parliamentary seats, not twenty-two, and only three of these were completely in his gift. Again (p. 160), the Society for Constitutional Information was set up in 1780, not 1770; neither it nor the Society of Supporters of the Bill of Rights included "working class people." Now and then the authors lapse into imaginative romantic absurdity. England's checkerboard of enclosed fields, though underexploited after the agricultural slump of the late nineteenth century, had not "reverted" to forest by 1900 (p. 19). The swinging phrase, "Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform" (p. 160), was never the "ear-rending chant" of a London radical rally: I am in the best position to know that it was coined in a London publisher's office in 1961; and this error displays elementary ignorance about Wilkes's career. Finally, the phrase "in the [House of] Commons" is correct usage: "in Commons" and "in Representatives" are alike ugly solecisms.

IAN R. CHRISTIE  
University College London



ANTHONY ARMSTRONG. *The Church of England, the Methodists and Society, 1700-1850*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1973. Pp. 224. Cloth \$7.00, paper \$3.50.

The eighteenth century remains one of the "dark ages" of English religious history, and it may be a long time before a work of synthesis can be attempted. Anthony Armstrong's book has a more modest aim; apparently intended primarily for sixth formers and undergraduates, it is a short introductory account of the churches in England between 1700 and 1850, emphasizing the Methodist and Evangelical movements and their "impact on society."

While not based on new research, it draws skillfully on the accumulated research of the last few decades; the result is thoughtful and wide ranging. Thus the discussion of the Church of England in the eighteenth century takes up its doctrine, clergy, and churches as well as its constitutional position; the section on the Methodist revival explores the origins of the movement, its organization, chapels, worship, relations with the Church of England, opposition, and social influence. And the author continually exceeds his brief and offers his own assessments of debated questions: these, often shrewd and debatable, are the most interesting parts of the book.

Thus while it does not aim high, it has its virtues. Unlike most works in the field it deals with the whole array of churches (apart from the Roman Catholics) and not just one, and it is refreshingly free from denominational bias. It is pleasantly written, well illustrated with quotations from contemporary sources, and equipped with bibliographies. Yet it has serious shortcomings that cannot simply be ascribed to lack of space. The author views the churches from so great a psychological distance that he fails to enter their mental world: he misses the importance of the Methodist doctrine of "Christian perfection," and the Oxford Movement to him is merely the Church's "most curious defence" against the Whigs. Bunting and the high Methodist doctrine of the pastoral office fare little better. Despite the title of the book, society has only a walk-on part in the story—to receive the impact of religion; missing here are the newer conception of religion in society and the attempts to plot its social coordinates and to re-create its *Sitz im Leben*. And in treating the churches as primary, Armstrong ignores most of the world of popular religion. He deals faithfully and interestingly with the old questions and the old narrative but seems not to have noticed how recent

writers in this tradition have themselves undermined its assumptions and prepared the way for a new dispensation in religious history.

JAMES OBELKEVICH  
Princeton University

R. F. BRISENDEEN, editor. *Studies in the Eighteenth Century*. Volume 2, *Papers Presented at the Second David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, Canberra, 1970*. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 419. \$15.00.

The rediscovery and revaluation of the literature of eighteenth-century England that began some forty or fifty years ago show no signs of flagging. Indeed, if we are to judge by the number of organizations, conferences, and seminars now devoted to the subject and still being formed and scheduled (one thinks of the healthy proliferation of regional branches of the interdisciplinary American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies), there is little fear that the eighteenth century will ever again suffer the condescending dismissals of critics and observers like Macaulay, Arnold, and Thackeray, to name but a few. The David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar met for the second time in Canberra in 1970 (the first meeting was in 1966, the third in 1973) and heard, among others, the twenty papers here printed, written by scholars from Australia and New Zealand, the United States and Canada, England, Scotland, and Germany, and proof not only that the revival of interest is international in scope but that the period has lost none of its attractions for some of the brightest minds in the world of scholarship. Although the majority of contributors are students of literature (there is a scattering of historians and librarians), the collection is gratifying proof of the continuing breakdown of older barriers between the disciplines. The writers here are seldom narrow in their interest or approach; even the topics that could easily be confined to purely literary matters are handled with a full sense of literature as an aspect of a larger context of philosophical, scientific, political, social, and economic thought and action.

In a short notice, one can do little more than point to a few highlights. Among those on the novelists I would place C. J. Rawson's perceptive analysis of the complex relationship of author and characters in *Jonathan Wild*, a work of art about life in which "life is imitating art"; John Carroll's examination of Richardson's revisions of *Clarissa*, a superb example of the light that textual analysis can throw upon meaning and authorial intention; and Roger

Robinson's evaluation of the "exuberant copiousness" of Fielding's narrative and descriptive techniques. Three essays deal particularly with matters in France: Robert Shackleton demonstrates the important influence of Pope's *Essay on Man* on the natural religion of the philosophes; J. J. Cashmere emphasizes that Bayle's skeptical tolerance was intended more to subvert the intolerance and dogmatism of formal religion than to support the radical criticism of society of some of his admirers; and James A. Leith's analysis of the arguments for and against mass education in France from 1750 to 1789 reads like a recapitulation of arguments we have all heard in our own time. Louis Landa continues his witty and learned explorations of the interplay between moral, economic, and literary concerns in the early eighteenth century, and four essays on Swift, by Paul Korshin, Michael Wilding, Gardner D. Stout, Jr., and Donald J. Greene add to some old controversies and open up some new. All in all, a most satisfying collection.

JOHN H. MIDDENDORF  
Columbia University

NEIL R. STOUT. *The Royal Navy in America, 1760-1775: A Study of Enforcement of British Colonial Policy in the Era of the American Revolution*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 227. \$12.50.

The focus of this monograph is accurately described in its subtitle. Professor Stout has analyzed and described the British navy as an instrument for enforcing imperial policy during the events that culminated in the War for American Independence. He provides another in a continuing series of monographs (such as John Shy's *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* [1965]; Thomas Barrow's *Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660-1775* [1967]), each of which, by close examination of a part of the whole, has enhanced our understanding of the formal apparatus Britain employed in managing her colonial affairs. This study primarily rests on the reports and correspondence of the officers who commanded the North American squadron of the British fleet, particularly Admirals Alexander Colville and John Montagu, and Commodore Samuel Hood. There is not—in fact, could not be—much here not already familiar; others have mined the Admiralty and other records Stout utilizes. It is good, however, to have the basic narrative of the navy's activities

in American waters carefully related, and Stout offers some conclusions about the effectiveness of the Sea Guard in its enforcement activities. He believes that "as a deterrent to illicit trade, the Royal Navy easily outranked the customs service." He is less certain about the role the naval officers may have played in exacerbating relationships between the mother country and the provinces. He is convinced that the reports from those who served on the American station helped shape attitudes and ideas among the men who were directing Britain's policies. Stout assigns the British navy to a less-than-major position among the complex of irritants, institutions, and ideologies that generated rebellion in America. That seems reasonable from the evidence he presents. But he confuses that evaluation when he asserts: "If there had been no naval enforcement the revenue laws would not have worked, and the empire would have gone on as it had before 1763, with the colonies enjoying local autonomy. But the laws were enforced, and the Royal Navy was the most effective enforcement agency." Thus, while Stout explains what the British navy did in America, there is ambiguity in his assessment of what consequences should be attributed to those actions.

CARL UBBELOHDE  
Case Western Reserve University

DOROTHY MARSHALL. *Industrial England, 1776-1851*. (Development of English Society.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. ix, 242. \$10.00.

This is a foundation volume for a series entitled "Development of English Society," produced in Great Britain. According to the editor, "It is intended to be a background book, not a text book, and as such the series should appeal to that increasingly wide circle of readers who, while not wanting to be bombarded by too much detail and too many facts, are interested in tracing back to its roots English society as we know it today" (p. vi). She adds, "It is designed for students," and it is appropriate here to consider the book for use in the classroom.

A good series for students would be very welcome, but this volume, at least, has three major flaws: parts are not helpful or meaningful to American students, it is dull, and it conceals rather than reveals the diversity of interpretation of the period.

It is not very useful because it does not seem to be written with the needs of American

students in mind. It has no map; it names places without explaining their location or even whether they are villages, towns, cities, counties, or regions; it casually names men without identifying them; and in other ways it assumes that very background it should be providing.

Dullness is embodied in the question the series is designed to answer, "How did we get from there to here?" (p. vi). The prose has some moments of real immediacy, and a few of the illustrative stories are very good. But mostly the book is as crisp as wet flannel. It does not give the sense of an act of creation but rather of a boiling up of old notes with a few suds of recent scholarship. The result is a very old-fashioned text dominated by the topics and approaches of two generations ago.

Finally, the book is disconcerting because it gives the students an interpretation of the period without being explicit about it and without letting them into the intellectual excitement of contending interpretations. It offers selected evidence while concealing the arguments. Moreover, the interpretation is an unreflective assertion that industrialization was making everything better and that any misery was purely coincidental and unavoidable. The implicit assumptions behind this book are so old that Dickens parodied them in the "Nobody's fault" of *Little Dorrit*; this is history the Circumlocution Office would have written.

THOMAS MILTON KEMNITZ  
University of New Hampshire

ELEANOR FLEXNER. *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography*. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan. 1972. Pp. 307. \$8.95.

Eleanor Flexner, author of the first scholarly account of the women's rights movement in the United States (*Century of Struggle* [1959]), has turned her fine talents to a study of Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97), who is generally regarded as the intellectual inspiration of feminism both in Britain and in this country. "I must be independent . . . freedom, even uncertain freedom is dear," she declared. To escape a desolate home life with a thriftless, drunken father and an unsympathetic mother, she worked as paid companion, school teacher, and governess before embarking on a literary career in London. There she met some of the noted intellectuals of the time and published several important works, pre-eminently the classic *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), before venturing alone to Paris to observe the Revolution firsthand. Yet she also

said that "without someone to love this world is a desert [*sic*] to me," and she was ever seeking the love denied her in childhood, as in her frustrated affection for the painter Fuseli and her liaison with the American adventurer Gilbert Imlay, whose eventual rejection of her drove her twice to attempt suicide. With her reason, "the heaven-lighted lamp in man" she called it, was constantly at war with her affectionate and possessive nature. At last she found an ideal partnership, both intellectual and passionate, with William Godwin, but a few months after their marriage she died in childbirth at the age of thirty-eight. The Wollstonecraft story has been told before by several writers, and Flexner acknowledges her debt to them. But a new study is justified, she says, because "so much new evidence has turned up to enrich our knowledge of Mary" (p. 268). Flexner makes good use of the Wollstonecraft-Godwin-Shelley family papers, from which she quotes extensively and effectively. She has also searched out other widely scattered sources, turning up some hitherto unpublished letters by Mary and other new material such as that relating to the Wollstonecraft family's finances. (A minor criticism here: some of this new material, relegated to the notes and six appendixes, could just as well have been incorporated into the text.) Still, the value of Flexner's work is due not so much to new material as to the interpretations and insights that she offers. Without burdening the reader with psychological jargon she gives an adept and thoroughly satisfying evaluation of her subject's character and conduct. Her work is meticulously researched, is written with compassionate understanding and in a style of rare grace, and is handsomely produced, with attractive illustrations and an eye-catching dust jacket portrait. It is altogether a fine book and a fitting tribute to an extraordinary woman.

LEE HOLCOMBE  
Mystic, Connecticut

F. L. VAN HOLTHOON. *The Road to Utopia: A Study of John Stuart Mill's Social Thought*. (*Speculum Historiale*, 7.) Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V. 1971. Pp. 212. 36 gls.

This book, like most books about John Stuart Mill, testifies to the problematic nature of his thought. Even those commentators, and Professor van Holthoon is among them, who insist upon the "organic unity," the "extraordinary consistency," of Mill's work, have some difficulty in defining the unifying principle that

will make sense of the whole of his work and resolve the apparent inconsistencies. A few years ago J. M. Robson found such a principle in the idea of the "improvement of mankind." Now van Holthoon carries this idea one step further in the idea of "utopia." To be sure, he hastens to assure us, Mill had no blueprint for the future; but he did posit the unending progress of mankind, and he did have a vision of a "consensus" or "utopia" awaiting us at the end of the road. This utopia, as the author describes it, appears to be a liberalized version of the Comtean model. It would be a harmonious society with no unnecessary conflict, certainly no struggle for material goods; yet the harmony would not be so perfect as to foreclose further progress. Most notably it would involve a "consensus about the modern Art of Life." But this consensus would not preclude "experiments with the Art of Life"; indeed, the consensus itself would be the "basis for such experiments."

It may be that this is the best one can do by way of a single principle that will establish the unity and consistency of Mill's thought. The question is whether it does justice either to his individual works or to his thought as a whole. Does it, for example, adequately describe the most influential of his works, *On Liberty*? The author tries to bring this book within the compass of his thesis by drastically limiting Mill's idea of liberty, giving to the sphere of liberty "about equal weight" with that of society, or duty. At another point he limits liberty by the supposed "dictate" of truth: "It is clear that man should accept the dictate of truth—whether by friendly persuasion or despotic control—as soon as it is proved that his nonacceptance will do harm to others. In other words: liberty reigns where truth is not." This may be consistent with the author's idea of "utopia" and "consensus." But is it consistent with Mill's "absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects," his insistence upon the right and need to dissent even in those cases where the truth has been absolutely established, or his repeated denunciations, in *On Liberty*, of conformity, custom, received opinion, and conventional behavior—in effect, of consensus?

GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB  
City University of New York

R. J. OLNEY. *Lincolnshire Politics, 1832-1885*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 284. \$13.00.

Although Sir Lewis Namier urged us many years ago to look for the dynamics of English political life in the constituencies no less than in the House of Commons, he has not been that much heeded. Searching local studies have been few. For the nineteenth century one thinks of Norman Gash's chapter on Berkshire in his *Politics in the Age of Peel* (1953), of Richard Davis's study of Buckinghamshire 1760-1885, and of some important articles like T. J. Nossiter's on English urban constituencies from 1832 to 1868. Dr. Olney's book is therefore a welcome addition. It is hoped that others will follow him.

Nineteenth-century Lincolnshire was a large agricultural county, second in size only to Yorkshire among English counties. It was not, however, an overwhelmingly aristocratic county—about twenty-eight per cent of its land area being taken up by estates of over ten thousand acres. Landowners, therefore, did not have it all their own way. "Lincolnshire politics between 1832 and 1885," Dr. Olney writes at the end of his book, "were farmers' politics. The real themes of those five decades were ones of direct relevance to the farming community—protection, local taxation, the malt tax and so on" (p. 243). In the course of coming to this conclusion, and almost *en passant*, Olney sensibly takes issue with that current orthodoxy, the "deference" school (if one may so label it)—especially with Professor D. C. Moore—on such questions as the general nature of deference and the protectionist inclinations of high-farming agriculturists.

One cannot, however, refrain from uttering a grumble or two about this useful book. It is regrettable that Olney somewhat mars his case in presenting it. For one thing, his writing bears the leaden imprint of the Ph.D. The political narrative is dull. It could have been enlivened by making the author's thesis—that Lincolnshire farmers were not political ciphers—clear at the start, instead of burying it in the small print of the bibliography. For another thing, Olney somehow forgets that his thesis is by no means original. Two decades ago Norman Gash argued in his *Politics in the Age of Peel* that political influence, unlike water, flows upward as well as downward, that English tenant farmers were therefore active politicians, and that the force of public opinion was a rural no less than an urban phenomenon.

DAVID SPRING  
Johns Hopkins University



L. F. TUPOLEVA. *Sotsialisticheskoe dvizhenie v Anglii v 80-e gody XIX veka* [The Socialist Movement in England in the 1880s]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vseobshchei Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 261.

Neither the breath of life, nor the clash of debate; neither the radiance of socialism's ultimate vision, nor the noise of tumult in the streets, shows through here. The 1880s abound in high drama: H. M. Hyndman founding the Social Democratic Federation; riots terrifying the West End; the dockers' strike; the emergence of Keir Hardie. Between that scene, however, and the drab stage here toured under heavy ideological chaperonage, any resemblance is chronological. Led past fascinating organizations great and small—with pauses only for labeling—the reader encounters only names, dates, and Lilliputian feuds.

Though preoccupation with organizational trivia seems this work's first fault, its worst is "missed opportunity." Manifold chances arise—and each time are lost: to match argument with argument, in the authentic word of the contemporary; to portray actuality in the round, as many (not just Engels) saw it. But the tour must be spared contact with the natives; yesterday disappears behind today's safe clichés. The stock judgments, screening reader from event, make up in weight and monotony for lack of subtlety or depth. The recurring scenarios must be endured to be believed: entrenched opportunist reformist meets revolutionary; revolutionary explains the impossibility of reform, the inevitability of building a genuinely independent proletarian party; masses understand; cut off from the struggling workers by elitism, sectarianism, and dogmatism, reformist loses.

One remarkable scholarly breakthrough, however, suffices to make this book required reading: "proof by quote." Substantiation—whether of fact, causality, or evaluation—reduces to citation of Engels, Marx, or Lenin. How happily the presentation of truth has advanced, when one need but cite its guarantor! Offered this time-saving substitute for tedious argument, what churl would object that "in a dictatorship one does not think; one quotes"?

Comparisons, in a crowded field, must be selective. East Germany's Siegfried Buenger, in his *Friedrich Engels und die britische sozialistische Bewegung von 1881–1895* (1962), seemed more analytical, more sensitive to human nuances. Stanley Pierson's new *Marxism and the Origins of British Socialism: The Struggle for a New Consciousness* (1972), bypassing ex-

ternal narrative (Tupoleva's staple), captures the inwardness: he sees Morris's ambivalence toward Marxism; he credits Hyndman with linking SDF and the new unions. Tupoleva's condemnations of Hyndman may soon be outmoded orthodoxy; praise—grudging, still heretical, but praise—is rising now for Hyndman. Can loyalism leave one stranded on tomorrow's deviationist siding? Meanwhile E. J. Hobsbawm concurs with Tupoleva that the SDF branches' vigorous autonomy saved them from Hyndman's domineering. Comparisons with E. P. Thompson's views must wait; his conclusions on Marx, Morris, and Engels seem in flux. The closest analogues are B. E. Kunina's *Karl Marks i Angliiskoe Rabochee Dvizhenie (1845–1883)*, and Natalia Prozorova's *Bor'ba K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa protiv anarkhizma*. This book adds nothing. It would break a genuine socialist's heart.

PAUL B. JOHNSON  
Roosevelt University

FRANK MILLER TURNER. *Between Science and Religion: The Reaction to Scientific Naturalism in Late Victorian England*. (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, 100.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 273. \$12.50.

This is not a general history but rather particular studies of six thinkers (Henry Sidgwick, Alfred Wallace, Frederic Myers, George Romanes, Samuel Butler, and James Ward) who rejected Christianity and "scientific naturalism" also. Each essay is good in itself. I always wanted to know something about Sidgwick, and Turner tells me about as much as I wanted to know. He has bibliographies if you want to go further.

Turner's useful catchall, "scientific naturalism" (for Huxley and Co., Morley and Co., the anthropologists, the physiologists, and so on), corresponds to a reality of sorts: all were the enemy in the minds of the six. But it can lead to problems. Thus if Ward in 1896 attacked a "mechanistic and positivistic analysis of nature" (p. 228), he had done nothing to Darwinism, which is neither mechanistic nor positivistic.

What Turner's treatment makes clear is that each of the six was motivated emotionally, not intellectually. Each had his own strong desire: for Sidgwick, establishing Victorian morality logically; for Wallace, man's progress in humanitarianism; for Myers, his own immortality; for Romanes, the loveliness of the universe viewed religiously; for Butler, the recognition

of his own scientific theories; for Ward, the dominance of mind over environment. When each saw that Darwinism gave an answer he did not like, he did not modify his desire but rejected the received notion of science and its relation to Truth. Three (Romanes, Butler, and Ward, pp. 146, 182-83, 221) rejected the possibility or desirability of Truth itself. Each retreated to some Romantic position that had been argued in the first half of the century. Hence, no one since about 1914 has paid much attention to their positive work, except for the founding of the Society for Psychical Research. They functioned as wreckers, to prevent science from playing the same role in determining Truth that it had done since the time of Newton.

Thus Turner's treatment leads to quite important conclusions. His initial chapter on "scientific naturalism" itself is less satisfying, in part because historians of science have not re-done the subject. Annan's *Leslie Stephen* (1951) is the most recent necessary book, given that studies of Darwin himself and Robert Young's *Mind, Brain, and Adaptation* (1970) are only tangential to the subject. Turner believes that "scientific naturalism" is known to be wrong and wicked and that its pretensions were largely destroyed by Ward (pp. 202, 210, 246). This is an odd belief. It may hinder him in seeing still further into the significance of his subject.

W. F. CANNON  
Smithsonian Institution

EDWARD SCOBIE. *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company. 1972. Pp. ix, 316. \$7.95.

This episodic book offers virtually nothing that is new for its first seven chapters, then for six chapters provides the fullest factual account yet available on the black experience in Britain, and then lapses for its final five chapters into summaries of events that are well known, but summaries nonetheless, informed by the author's own participation in some of the events described. The result is less a history of blacks in Britain than a hit-or-miss accumulation of interesting tidbits of information, personal opinions, and contemporary quotations, none of which are footnoted. There is no sustained analysis, and what there is is journalistic rather than historical; the conclusion on Enoch Powell is that "Britain's blacks are not taking [him] with passive indifference. Powell's anti-black

speeches have caused an awakening among them. They have now arrived at the bitter truth that all blacks are in the same racial boat." Virtually no manuscript sources are used, and tiny errors of nuance abound (St. John does not exist, Saint John and St. John's do). First names often are not given for the many figures that run upon this stage, and secondary material is used in unprofessional ways: we are told that an American sociologist, R. T. Lapiere, showed that in 1921 four per cent of the English were without prejudice, while sixty-seven per cent of the French were, and the source for this parody of sociological scholarship is shown to be an article not consulted but quoted from the *Negro Yearbook* for 1931-32. Compiling a list of stylistic solecisms, minor errors, and shopping lists of notable firsts would not serve to undermine the conclusion that the middle chapters of this book warrant its publication, and that the patient reader may gain valuable information from it, as well as insights into an interesting and dedicated man who has not decided whether he is writing for a scholarly or for a popular audience. For the former, one should turn to the two recent books by Jay Walvin; for the latter, Edward Scobie's effort may very well serve.

ROBIN W. WINKS  
Yale University

A. K. RUSSELL. *Liberal Landslide: The General Election of 1906*. (Elections and Administrations Series.) Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1973. Pp. 260. \$12.50.

The general election of 1906 was one of those rare elections in which all the factors favored one party: the Conservatives had annoyed everyone in their last years in office but the Liberals had just formed a very talented government, the defense of free trade had united all the Liberals but tariff reform had had no unifying effect on the Conservatives, the 1902 Education Act had outraged the Nonconformists but the Liberals were able to conciliate the Catholic vote by some very mild and unalarming references to Home Rule. Dr. Russell's detailed study of the election confirms the impression that the Unionists did about as badly as possible; he shows that a great number of new voters came to support the Liberals, that many people who voted Conservative in 1900 must have changed their minds, and that the Labour Representation Committee drew an even larger percentage of the vote away from



the Conservatives than the Liberal candidates did. There is nothing to suggest that tariff reform was of any general benefit to the Conservatives; Russell shows that Conservative candidates did no better where Chamberlain had spoken than in other constituencies, that in the months before the election relatively few of them shifted to become clearly tariff reformers, and that whole-hoggers did not do particularly well in the election. It is hard to make so one-sided an election seem interesting in retrospect, even though it clearly gripped the public imagination at the time. Dr. Blewett has shown what a revealing study of the whole political scene can emerge from electoral study of a year of crosscurrents. If the election had been dominated by a great struggle of party leaders, this would have provided its own excitement, but 1906 was more of an aftermath of the Campbell-Bannerman v. Rosebery and the Balfour v. Chamberlain struggles than a contest of leaders in its own right. Russell has done the best he can with the election itself, but the real story of 1906 begins well before the dissolution (as is true of many other elections). Several recent books have helped clarify the intraparty struggles of 1901-05; there is now room for a book that brings all this together. It would be pleasant if Russell could write it, though he may not be able to spare the time from his present work in the Overseas Development Administration.

TREVOR LLOYD  
University of Toronto

L. P. CARPENTER. *G. D. H. Cole: An Intellectual Biography*. (Conference on British Studies Biographical Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973. Pp. 271. \$14.95.

Cole is one of the small handful of socialist intellectuals who have achieved a significant influence within the British labor movement in the twentieth century. Thirty years younger than Sidney and Beatrice Webb, he was initially attracted to the Fabian Society at Oxford, but by the time of the First World War he had rejected its distinctive collectivist approach in favor of the ideas of guild socialism, which he did much to develop and for which he is chiefly remembered. But his disillusionment with these utopian hopes brought him back to a reformist position, from which he tried to influence the making of Labour party policy. The verse in which his friend Maurice Reckitt commented that he had "a Bolshevik soul in a Fabian muzzle" is not only witty but just;

and Mr. Carpenter makes the most of it in his analysis of the tension between, on the one hand, Cole's lifelong adherence to the visionary ideals that lay behind guild socialism and, on the other, the resolute practicality with which he sought to ground the aspirations of the labor movement upon academically reputable social research.

The present book is devoted to a study of Cole's ideas and is based primarily upon his extensive published writings. It traces and expounds the several stages of his social and political thought with clarity and economy. These are not negligible virtues; and the author is at his best in the convincing and sympathetic chapter on guild socialism and in the percipient survey in the final chapter on audiences and values. The book, however, has some curious features that ought not to pass unremarked. It is odd that the author should have been content to publish "an intellectual biography" in 1973 that evidently has not benefited from consultation of Dame Margaret Cole's *Life of her husband*, which appeared in 1971; and this draws attention to a deficiency in respect of relevant personal information that has not been adequately remedied by the references (sometimes careless) to her own autobiography. For example, Cole's diabetes is clearly pertinent to his prolific output. Here the author is somewhat uneasy in his insistence that quality was not sacrificed to quantity, and he reproduces on no less than three occasions a passage in which Cole extenuated William Morris's voluminous production—presumably on the principle that "what I tell you three times is true." Readers of what Dame Margaret has to say will not be so easily convinced. The treatment of Cole's economic theories, notably in the fifth chapter, is also defective. The relationship between planning and Keynesian ideas could profitably have been discussed, possibly with reference to the work of Professor Donald Winch, which does not appear in the bibliography; and it is unfortunate that this chapter should conclude its remarks on Keynes with a reference to "J. A. Hobson's earlier explanation of the gap between savings and investment," which is neither accurate nor what Cole claimed.

These caveats do not detract from the substantial merits of the book, which will prove a serviceable guide to many aspects of Cole's work. In particular, it brings out the emphasis that Cole put on liberal values as intrinsic to the ends of socialism, and it is therefore able to make a plausible case for the continuity

of his thought through and beyond the guild socialist phase.

P. F. CLARKE  
University College London

A. J. SHERMAN. *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933-1939*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. 291. \$11.50.

This book should remain the most authoritative account of British policy toward the refugees from the Third Reich. It is well researched, relying in great measure upon the Cabinet Papers. Sherman is concerned with the several waves of refugees who desired entry into Britain, from the small contingent after 1933 until the floodgates opened with the destruction of Austria and Czechoslovakia. All along British policy was governed by several immutable principles: no public financial assistance, immigration must be limited with a view to national unemployment and pressure groups like the medical profession (which was similarly selfish in the United States), the wish not to offend Germany, and, finally, the desire to separate the Palestine problem from any discussion of refugee policy and settlement.

Sherman contends that Britain was not ungenerous toward the refugees. Certainly after July 1939 the public purse was finally opened and thousands of endangered children were admitted. Disenchantment with Germany apparently combined with hypocritical pressure from the United States, which did very little itself, to push Britain to revise previous attitudes. But it also emerges that men like Lord Halifax and Sir Samuel Hoare, about whom little good has been said since the war, showed a genuine humanitarian concern for the plight of the homeless. Britain admitted proportionately more refugees than France, not to mention the United States.

Sherman's treatment of the cabinet and civil service as largely faceless men is a handicap when it comes to R. M. Makins or Lord Winter-ton, who were crucial in the formulation of policy. What were their prejudices and attitudes, and beyond this, how did the only Jew in the cabinet, Leslie Hore-Belisha, react to this problem? We get glimpses of prejudice through memoranda (thus the governor of Kenya wants to admit only "nordic Jews"), but this is a history without people in an area where they do matter. For example, one can read into government actions and memoranda

that the English Jewish establishment behaved with a true concern for refugees, something entirely lacking in France, but the records of the Jewish organizations themselves, not to speak of private papers, have not yet really been exploited. Perhaps more seriously, within the book's context, little is said about non-Jewish political refugees other than those driven out by the Munich agreement. Again, we get a tantalizingly brief glimpse of attitudes toward political refugees when the Home Office admitted some Jews in a hurry so as to have an excuse to refuse several Communists.

This book, then, is a competent discussion of public policy, and it is good to have it. But it does not exhaust the topic, and it slights the complex level of motivation and behavior. In the end, I suppose, the tragedy that the book chronicles is relatively simple to explain: in a world of nation states there can be no room for those who have lost their old nation and not gained a new one in return. The exceptions to this rule are the rich and famous, but this book rightly deals with the many and not with the few "illustrious immigrants" who soon managed to find themselves a nation to belong to once more.

GEORGE L. MOSSE  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

W. N. MEDLICOTT *et al.*, editors. *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*. Second Series. Volume 13, *Naval Policy and Defence Requirements, July 20, 1934-March 25, 1936*. London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by Pendragon House, Palo Alto, Calif. 1973. Pp. lxxviii, 945. \$42.00.

Faced with nearly a thousand pages of Foreign Office documents, I can only echo the pertinent observation of Professor Warren Kimball when dealing with *Foreign Relations* volumes in the December 1973 issue of this journal: that what follows must be "vague, impressionistic, and all too uncritical." It is also necessary to follow Kimball in warning that volumes of Foreign Office papers, no more than those of the State Department, cannot provide a complete understanding of the foreign relations of the country concerned. One is reminded of a portion of the eager youth toiling away in the Public Record Office whose theses should be headed, not "Anglo-Ruritanian Relations," but "Some Foreign Office Aspects of British Policies toward Ruritania." In the present case

students must, for example, turn also to the records of the cabinet and its committees, to the Board of Admiralty, numerous public and private individuals, and, not least, to that area where domestic and foreign policy issues are closely interwoven—to the League of Nations Union and Peace Ballot, say, and to Lancashire, with its demands for protection in Asian markets. Forthcoming secondary sources will also make an important contribution for those unable to reach the archives: Captain Stephen Roskill's third volume of *Hankey*, for one, together with the second volume of his *Naval Policy Between The Wars* and the new life of Chamberlain by Professor David Dilks.

Despite these qualifying observations, however, one must at once go on to emphasize that this is an extremely important and admirably produced volume—and one that prints, incidentally, a useful number of minutes as well as telegrams. It covers a crucial period that saw the beginning of what Professor Coral Bell has called the "crisis-slide" toward World War II. Above all, it provides excellent material on the interrelationship of the problems facing Britain in Europe and in the Far East.

The volume has two main themes: the naval negotiations, mainly between Britain, Japan, and the United States, which culminated in the patched-up London Conference of 1935–36, and the attempts, also involving naval issues, to restrain by sober parley and civilized pacts the primitive threat of Nazi Germany. Within this broad pattern one can only summarize some of the more important individual threads. On the naval side there is, for example, the vain hope of the Admiralty and Foreign Office that Japan might agree to the principle of "equal power of defence in the Pacific" following her denunciation of the Washington agreement; the anxious and sometimes acerbic discussions with Norman Davis and the State Department over the possibility of harmonizing the British and American approaches; the juggling with quantitative and qualitative limitations both before and after Japan's withdrawal from the conference in January 1936, with qualitative restrictions being embodied in the Anglo-French-American treaty of the following March.

Behind such technical issues there lay, of course, political maneuverings of potentially enormous significance. The Japanese were making a play for either what their foreign minister called "an essential understanding with Britain and the United States" or what another Tokyo official described as "a political agreement with

Great Britain." In London this latter possibility was highly attractive to that formidable Treasury partnership of Neville Chamberlain and Sir Warren Fisher. To the Foreign Office, on the other hand, such a pact seemed likely to "increase the chances of a Russian-Japanese war and of a weakening of Russia, and will entail . . . violent Chinese resentment against us, a diminution of the authority of the League [*sic*] and most likely a worsening of our relations with the United States." However, Chamberlain's hand was strengthened by Roosevelt, who, while declaring privately that the Japanese "were pursuing a very long-distance expansion in Asia," warned that "anything in the nature of a definite commitment on the part of the United States was impossible." Eventually a compromise proposal in the shape of an Anglo-Japanese nonaggression pact was presented to the cabinet by Chamberlain and Simon jointly, although this blithely ignored the trade war with Japan in which Chamberlain was a leading general.

Meanwhile naval negotiations had also to embrace the troubled French, the posturing Italians, and, bilaterally, the Germans: without an agreement on limitation for Germany the Admiralty was not prepared to sign elsewhere with the United States, and when Berlin offered a thirty-five per cent ratio with the Royal Navy it was seized upon with relief, "having regard to past history and to Germany's known capacity to become at will a serious naval rival of this country." "I earnestly hope," wrote Sir Eric Phipps from Berlin around this time, "that His Majesty's Government will not be deterred by the mere contemplation of Herr Hitler's past misdeeds or breaches of faith. After all, he now leads nearly 70 millions of industrious, efficient and courageous, not to say pugnacious, people." An air pact with the man was seen as perhaps an even greater prize, although it was an issue that gave rise to sharp disagreements over Germany's current and potential strength between the Air Ministry and Sir Robert Vansittart, who fiercely rejected the notion "that Germany will not be ready for war before 1942."

To preoccupations such as these must be added the approaching Rhineland crisis and the repercussions of the Franco-Soviet pact, French hostility toward the Anglo-German naval agreement, and Anglo-French divergencies over Abyssinia. Seldom has there been a more rapidly shifting, perplexing, and ominous period for those charged with the conduct of British foreign policy. When studying it, the

present volume will henceforth be an indispensable, though incomplete, source.

CHRISTOPHER THORNE  
University of Sussex

SIR LLEWELLYN WOODWARD. *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War*. Volume 3. (History of the Second World War.) London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by Pendragon House, Redwood City, Calif. 1971. Pp. xiv, 620. \$20.00.

Woodward's third volume (review of volume 1 is in *AHR*, 76 (1971): 1553-54) is largely devoted to Britain and Europe in the last two years of the war. As a matter of exception, the treatment of Britain's Greek policy, detailed in some fifty pages, begins in 1941 and continues until mid-1945. Greece is exceptional as well in that it did not pass under Soviet or local communist control: British authorities, who had long contemplated the growth of communist influence in Greece, acted there with decisive repression when British forces were challenged. That simple statement, of course, has been voluminously disputed in all of its terms and from a variety of perspectives.

Woodward wrote these volumes originally for use by the Foreign Office. The period of composition, extending from 1942 to 1950, is very close to the events. Given the professional experience, scrupulousness, and intelligence of the author—he claims to have had free access, though I doubt this without some limitations, to the Foreign Office's papers and, as needed, those of the cabinet and other departments—closeness and near contemporaneity are the unique qualities of this story of Britain's adaptation to war, revolutions, and the superpowers.

Ceaseless and hopeful striving characterize the British effort to establish harmonious relations with the Soviet Union on Poland and Eastern Europe. In Yugoslavia the Chetniks and for that matter King Peter lose out to Tito and the Partisans of whom the British representative, Fitzroy Maclean, wrote accounts that were compared to prospectuses for a company. And French problems were hardly less refractory: de Gaulle, himself without power and claiming independence, outraged the stubborn "new-boy" Franklin Roosevelt, whose views Britain would out of necessity or dependence support, as Churchill argued to de Gaulle. This support of Roosevelt by Churchill prepared the general's future blackballing of Britain as a member of the Common Market.

This is a Foreign Office view of the world

and as such the volumes are valuable. As a period-piece of history the present volume is a humbling and instructive revelation of the limitations of human action and judgment. The tragic element encompasses the sufferings of victims as well as the frustration of the finite actors who somehow must balance and live with policies shaped by dictates of honor, interest, morality, responsibility, and considerations of power rarely adequate for the task. I found the present volume very moving reading because of its dated quality. Woodward's volume may also serve as a guide to Foreign Office, Cabinet, and Churchill Papers and offer a multitude of leads to the study of British policy and its agents as well as to their foreign counterparts and the situations of which they formed part.

MATTHEW A. FITZSIMONS  
University of Notre Dame

F. X. MARTIN and F. J. BYRNE, editors. *The Scholar Revolutionary: Eoin MacNeill, 1867-1945, and the Making of the New Ireland*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. 429. \$13.50.

When Eoin MacNeill wrote: "Neither apathy nor antipathy can ever bring out the truth of history," he expressed a devotion to Gaelic studies that made him both an outstanding scholar and nationalist leader in early twentieth-century Ireland. This collection of twelve articles by historians and philologists, some of whom knew MacNeill well, is an impressive but not wholly successful effort to evaluate his academic and political careers. The essays on academe offer a well-rounded description of MacNeill's contributions as a linguist and historian, although some of them are obviously intended for Gaelic specialists. But the treatment of politics leaves much to be desired. Only one of three articles considers MacNeill's role during the revolutionary decade from 1914 to 1924, while the other two take half the book to explore the opening and closing events of his political life. Geoffrey Hand's discussion of the Boundary Commission fiasco contains much valuable information, but is this the place for such a detailed study, especially when its focus is the commission rather than MacNeill himself? The same criticism applies more strongly to F. X. Martin's discursive account of the foundation of the Volunteers, which draws heavily on his *Irish Volunteers* (1963).

Despite this imbalance, the book does make some important points. Taken together, the ar-



ticles provide a good explanation of MacNeill's nationalist philosophy, emphasizing his insistence on the priority of cultural over political nationalism—the "nation" over the "state." The authors also make a convincing case that MacNeill cannot justly be regarded as a failure, notwithstanding his political misfortunes and his disenchantment with the "new Ireland" that emerged from the revolution. MacNeill's intelligence and energy made him a pioneer of the Gaelic Revival and Irish historical studies, while his political commitments helped to create an independent and stable Irish state. Furthermore, although MacNeill has often been censured because of his stand on certain critical issues during his political career, these essays remind us that debate on such questions is still open. A chronology of the subject's life, a bibliography of his published writings, and selected extracts from them enhance the usefulness of this work.

JOSEPH M. CURRAN  
*Le Moyne College*

PIERRE ROCOLLE. *2000 ans de fortification française*. Volume 1, *Texte*; volume 2, *Croquis—bibliographie—index*. Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle. 1973. Pp. xxiii, 365; 262. 180 fr. the set.

Colonel Rocolle, continuing a nineteenth-century tradition in which histories of fortification were generally written by military men, proves that soldiers can also be good historians. For his history of French fortification, Rocolle has collected a vast amount of material that he manages to present in a systematic and well-ordered manner. Very little of the French literature on his subject seems to have escaped the author's attention, and his rich footnotes and extensive bibliography make this work a dependable reference for future students in his field.

The book's early chapters, dealing with ancient fortification, are perhaps its weakest, as they are based largely on secondary, and not always the most recent, sources. This can be excused since the material is marginal and introductory to the main subject of the book, namely French fortification. From the Middle Ages on, the author finds himself on solid ground and, with few exceptions, traces vividly a continuous and convincing development from crusader's castles to the Maginot Line. Technological changes and advances in construction methods and fortification designs are presented in a rich framework of historical settings, and with constant references to contemporary changes in strategy, weaponry, and siege meth-

ods. All this is reinforced with rarely found and fascinating references, often in tabular form, to construction times and costs (calculated in percentages of ducal or royal incomes), methods of financing, garrison sizes, types of armament, and siege durations.

Of course not everything written by Rocolle is beyond debate. His attempt to deflate the still current nineteenth-century theory that many of the innovations of the twelfth century in the French art of fortification were imported from the Near East by returning crusaders fails to convince me. And a lengthy discussion of the possible origins of the machicolis gallery, which Rocolle wants to derive from wall articulations of Romanesque churches, is interesting but inconclusive. Also, while the author gives full credit to Italian engineers for the revolutionary fifteenth- and sixteenth-century innovations in fortification design, his section on these Italian developments seems a little spotty. Some transitional Italian monuments (for example, Soncino and Bracciano) are misdated and introduced out of chronological context. And with the citation of Francesco de Marchi's important treatise only to discredit the Italian claim of his influence on Vauban, the author exhibits a bit of national bias that, fortunately, is very rare in this otherwise remarkably objective book.

But with Vauban, Rocolle re-enters his own backyard, and his analysis of Vauban's great fortification projects for Louis XIV is exemplary in its circumspect treatment of the monuments within and as part of their political, strategic, and logistical determinants.

The last third of the book lucidly deals with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Complex problems of design arising from such inventions as the rifled gun barrel and developments of reinforced concrete and armor plate are described in nontechnical, easily understood language. Toward the end Rocolle becomes an apologist for the Maginot Line, and (perhaps a surprise to a reader living in the atomic age) he concludes that permanent fortification is not obsolete despite the apparent failure of both the Maginot and the Siegfried Lines during the Second World War. No fortress has ever been able to resist a determined aggressor indefinitely, Rocolle writes; it is successful if it fulfills the purpose for which it was designed; and the purpose of permanent fortifications never was more than to delay an aggressor until sufficient forces could be mobilized to repel and defeat the enemy in open field battle.

Rocolle's illustrations are a real labor of love, as most of them seem to have been hand-drawn by the author himself. A substantial number of these drawings appear to be copies from photographs. To be sure, drawings can be more instructive than photos, as unimportant features can be deleted and important ones emphasized. But the interested reader cannot help but wonder how many, if any, of the structures shown are still standing to be seen and studied *in situ*. While an inventory of extant monuments certainly was not the purpose of Rocolle's work, a few photographs might have given a more topical flavor to an otherwise excellent and most valuable study.

HORST DE LA CROIX  
California State University,  
San Jose

YVES CAZAUX. *Jeanne d'Albret*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1973. Pp. 412. 35 fr.

It is only a slight oversimplification to say that two distinct historical cultures coexist in contemporary France. One is marked by a self-consciously scientific outlook and has adopted the most advanced scholarly techniques; the other tends to be absolutely retrograde both in terms of method and analysis. Cazaux's book on the life of Jeanne d'Albret is representative of the latter school and one of a seemingly endless parade of popular biographies that dramatize, but do not illuminate, their subjects.

Although Cazaux has explored some of the archival materials relating to the career of the queen of Navarre and lists the principal secondary sources in his bibliography, he has not managed to break away from the standard formula that is imposed upon popular French historical writing—a thin narrative line, a shallow psychology ("With the exciting revelation of carnal love, Jeanne had just regained her total liberty."), and, at the end, a small moral lesson on the human condition. Significant discussion of the great issues of religion, politics, and war never really penetrates the smooth surface of this superficial work. Nor does the author probe deeply the character, motivations, or qualities of leadership of this shrewd and courageous woman. Time and again thoughts and feelings are attributed to the queen that are not supported by direct references to the sources.

One can only conclude that this biography, which is totally sympathetic to its subject, detracts from Jeanne's historical reputation. Seri-

ous students of the period will continue to rely on Nancy Lyman Roelker's outstanding study of the queen of Navarre.

RAYMOND F. KIERSTEAD  
University of Texas

JULIAN DENT. *Crisis in Finance: Crown, Financiers and Society in Seventeenth-Century France*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. 288. \$14.95.

This book deals with the role of financiers in Old Regime France, especially in the middle years of the seventeenth century. The author asserts that by 1661 the older financial machinery had become in essence simply a front behind which "financiers came to dominate the financial administration of the state, parcelling it up into private fiefs . . . redolent more of a low species of bastard feudalism than of an absolutist monarch." The book is in two parts. The first describes the structure of finance, both the fiscal forms inherited from the mid-fifteenth century and the newer bewildering assortment of expedients contrived by corrupt financiers to raise funds for hard-pressed monarchs. The second, and original, part presents the results of a computer study of 744 people involved in seventeenth-century finance, along with 810 people related to the first group by blood, marriage, or business interest. Some 750,000 separate questions were said to have been asked of the people involved. To a considerable extent the answers give flesh and bone to a very ghostly occupational group. The chapters "Success and Failure," "The Uses of Power," "Relationships Between the Financiers and the World at Large," and "The Family, Marriage and Social Mobility" will perhaps not make financiers any more attractive than they have been in the past, but they will at least give them substance. For example, data are presented confirming the suspicion that a financier's life was very hazardous: forty-six men in the sample group suffered "grave misfortune" and had their careers terminated by "ruin, imprisonment, exile, or a combination of these things." Probably because of the uncertainties of the business, financiers spent their earnings at a frenetic pace, which, of course, helps explain their unpopularity in contemporary society. Dent provides data on the construction of Parisian houses and rural châteaux, favorite outlets for the gains of the financiers. Of the artistically significant houses built in Paris from the later sixteenth century to the later seventeenth, Dent's figures show that about half were built



by persons involved in some way in the royal finances. Many other interesting nuggets are yielded by the computer, such as the revelation that a daughter of high finances was six-and-a-half times less likely to enter the religious life than was a daughter of a modern administrative man, and ten times less likely than was the daughter of a magistrate of one of the sovereign courts (the author sees no obvious explanation).

Dent's book is a welcome contribution to a very neglected field. Although it has its share of tables and perplexing pie charts, it is nonetheless a readable book.

LEON BERNARD

University of Notre Dame

G. R. R. TREASURE. *Cardinal Richelieu and the Development of Absolutism*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1972. Pp. 316. \$11.95.

JEAN-LOUIS THIREAU. *Les idées politiques de Louis XIV*. Preface by ROBERT VILLERS. (Travaux et recherches de l'Université de Droit, d'Économie et de Sciences Sociales de Paris. Series Sciences historiques, 4.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1973. Pp. 126.

Similar to G. R. R. Treasure's earlier work, *Seventeenth Century France* (1966), the book under review is a competent, clearly written account of the principal movements and events of Richelieu's ministry. It is not a biography. As a text it has the advantage over C. V. Wedgwood's *Richelieu and the French Monarchy* (1954) in that it summarizes much of the recent research in economic and social history, particularly on the origins of popular revolts. Unlike Wedgwood, however, Treasure lacks clarity and synthetic coherence. Greater detail is Treasure's principal strength, but in exchange the personalities and sense of drama associated with the figure of Richelieu fail to come alive and become as vivid as in Wedgwood.

The work by Thireau, while not in appearance a textbook, has that function to commend it. Recognizing that the primary advances in the scholarship on Louis XIV's *Memoirs* have been made recently by the American scholar, Professor Paul Sonnino, Thireau's purpose is to summarize Sonnino's work and give a textual explication of the *Memoirs*. A gloss of a difficult philosophical text is always useful when it is prepared by someone with mastery of the field in which the work is written, but Louis's *Memoirs* are neither difficult nor very philosophical, and the author has a minimal control over the literature of political thought regarding the French monarchy. Where Thireau adds

a perspective from a legal or philosophical tradition regarding Louis's words, he is almost always correct but very superficial. Except for beginners, if only for reasons of the sonorous and elegant style, the *Memoirs* themselves should still be preferred reading over this commentary.

OREST RANUM

Johns Hopkins University

PAUL W. BAMFORD. *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1973. Pp. x, 380. \$16.50.

Louis XIV spent lavishly on his galleys—tens of millions, according to Bamford. Fifty per cent of the navy's budget went to the galley fleet in 1663 alone, two years before the Galley Corps was officially created. By 1690 the royal fleet numbered over fifty galleys employing 15,000 men. The officer class, made up in large part of French-born knights of Malta, received the highest pay in the navy. Under the supervision of the galley intendants a magnificent arsenal was constructed in Marseilles whose merchants grew rich from building and maintaining the fleet. One would surmise that with all its prestige and munificent royal support, the Galley Corps must have played an important military role. Yet, Bamford shows that it did not. The galleys were too light to carry heavy ordnance and were highly vulnerable to cannon fire; they had a limited range and were difficult to row in stormy seas. Bamford pointedly reveals that the fighting ships in fact did not engage in a single combat between 1660 and 1690.

Why, then, did Louis spend so profusely to amass a fleet of veritably obsolete vessels? Bamford's answer lies in part in the utility of the galleys as prisons, a subject he explores in depth. Deserters from the army, debtors, criminals of every sort, beggars, and Protestants were among those sentenced to the oar. Infidels mostly from Muslim countries were enslaved there, about 2,000 in the 1670s. Although the author does not minimize the rigor of the galley prisons and the economic exploitation of oarsmen labor in the prison workhouses on shore, he stresses the comparative advantages of galley prisons. Convict craftsmen could practice their trades in the arsenal; some oarsmen were employed in the guilds of Marseilles; and many learned vocational skills in the *bagne* built at royal expense for invalid oarsmen.

Still, the utility of the galleys as prisons only partially explains their value to the monarchy. The central, compelling thesis of Bamford's

book is that the Galley Corps was a useful tool of propaganda and public relations. It symbolized the king's role as a Christian crusader against the infidel and helped to inspire respect for his power and grandeur. Louis used his colorful fleet ostentatiously in the war against infidels in order to mask his policy of cooperation with the Ottoman state, to impress Gallican churchmen, and to soften public suspicion of his aims during his struggle with the papacy. It was through a "shrewdly self-interested policy," therefore, that Louis mounted a fleet of militarily useless vessels where Turks and Protestants were enchained and crews were commanded by knights who had to swear allegiance to the French monarch. Like Versailles, the galleys were a mark of Louis XIV's power. Bamford's thesis is convincing and brilliantly articulated.

One of the great strengths of this volume is the author's ability to relate galley history to the more familiar aspects of French history. The intendancy system, the Crown's efforts to discipline the nobility, the clash of centralization with local authority, venality, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—all are impressively woven into the fabric of Bamford's book. The volume is enhanced by the skillful drawings of galleys by John W. Ekstrom and by a helpful glossary.

ROBERT M. ISHERWOOD  
Vanderbilt University

J. Q. C. MACKRELL. *The Attack on 'Feudalism' in Eighteenth-Century France*. (Studies in Social History.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 215. \$12.50.

Feudalism, according to the late Alfred Cobban, was "a term invented to describe the social organization that prevailed in the Middle Ages." But by the time of the French Revolution of 1789, he argued, feudalism "as a government based on the ownership of land . . ." had long ceased to exist in France. In Cobban's view the notion that the French Revolution destroyed feudalism was, therefore, a myth perpetrated mostly by historians.

Now J. Q. C. Mackrell, who studied under Cobban, has described for us with convincing detail the eighteenth-century attacks on feudalism. Was the attack only shadowboxing, something akin to the formal exercises of a karate expert who, grunting and bellowing, strenuously kicks, punches, and chops at a nonexistent enemy? Not at all, Mackrell demonstrates. While feudalism, as the medievalists define it,

certainly did not exist in eighteenth-century France, remnants of the feudal regime were everywhere. Seigniorial courts still dispensed justice, *banalités* still aroused the peasants' deepest resentments, the military virtues of the old feudal warrior still sustained a value system that left the commercial bourgeoisie ashamed of his day-to-day transactions and determined to escape, if possible, into the ranks of nobility. There were, still, *droits honorifiques*, feudal and seigniorial dues, *corvées*, and, yes, even serfdom, in France. Statistically, some of the remains of feudalism did not amount to much in France. But the critics of feudalism did not develop their concern for human justice from statistical tables.

Many of these abuses, Mackrell freely admits, were, strictly speaking, not even feudal if one accepts a purist definition of feudalism. Nevertheless, Mackrell provides persuasive evidence that the historians, the jurists, the humanitarians, and the utilitarians who attacked feudalism in eighteenth-century France knew exactly what they were attacking and they knew that what they attacked existed, for the most part, either as a legal right, an ancient social custom, or as an attitude of mind. There were exceptions, of course. Mackrell recognizes, for example, that the so-called *droit de seigneur* was a legend that critics of feudalism used against the nobility.

By his careful reading of the writings of publicists who did not enjoy the status of a Voltaire or a Montesquieu, Mackrell confirms what Peter Gay has argued: eighteenth-century French thought was not unhistorical, abstract, and childish idealistic, but, on the contrary, quite sophisticated when dealing with historical origins, realistic when suggesting reform, and above all, shrewdly polemical.

But what was their influence in actually bringing about reform and change? Extremely limited, Mackrell concludes. The government, whose members sometimes read the critics, suffered a failure of nerve when it tried to destroy feudalism. And when the peasants finally took matters into their own hands and attacked feudalism, they did not do so primarily because they had read the written attacks in books. Mackrell's conclusions, regarding the influence of the publicists' attack on feudalism is, therefore, deflating. For even if we accept his thesis that the intellectual attack on feudalism was often brilliant and to the point, we also come away from this book with the very live hypoth-

esis that their efforts had very little effect on the course of French Revolutionary history.

ORVILLE T. MURPHY  
State University of New York,  
Buffalo

MARK POSTER. *The Utopian Thought of Restif de la Bretonne*. New York: New York University Press, 1971. Pp. xii, 154. \$8.95.

Neglected ideas of the past too often become the subjects of mediocre doctoral dissertations, thus exchanging one form of oblivion for another. In a close-knit psychological, sociological, and historical analysis, Mark Poster has saved Restif de la Bretonne's utopian concepts from such a fate. In so doing the author has added an important new dimension to the historical image of a fascinating eighteenth-century Frenchman known heretofore principally as a popular novelist. What is more, Poster has given us instructive insights into the origins and relationships of some significant Western ideas about man and society.

Poster discovers the seeds of Restif's utopianism in the struggle that raged within him between destructive passions and the rational desire to control them. The central function of the ideal societies about which he wrote was always the essentially moral one of harnessing selfish individual passions for positive and constructive common purposes. However, his many specific proposals for curing society's ills lack unity and consistency. In short, the figure of Restif the social philosopher emerges from the pages of this carefully researched monograph as a credible and interesting but minor link in the utopian chain stretching from Thomas More to Charles Fourier.

Less convincing is the author's effort to show Restif's relationship to the prevailing intellectual currents of his century. Citing disagreements on a variety of issues with such figures as Diderot, Morelly, Helvétius, and Voltaire, Poster concludes that Restif's "specific utopian values tended to reflect his reaction against the Enlightenment and to anticipate Romantic strains of thought" (pp. 138-39). Perhaps such a judgment follows inevitably from Poster's surprisingly narrow, mechanistic-rationalistic notion of the Enlightenment, which relegates the masters of *sensibilité* to the historical twilight zone of "pre-romanticism." Yet even within the constricted framework of that approach he might well have accorded greater emphasis to at least one thing Restif, and his mentor

Rousseau, had in common with all the great eighteenth-century philosophes: the pursuit of a new world view that could point the way to a "new morality" for mankind.

Scholarly readers will be grateful to find footnotes at the bottom of each page, underscoring development and changes in Restif's ideas as they appear at different times and in different publications. Not so welcome are the topical headings and subheadings within each chapter, which serve only to chop up a text otherwise free from stylistic flaws and annoying eccentricities.

J. ROBERT VIGNERY  
University of Arizona

SHIRLEY M. GRUNER. *Economic Materialism and Social Moralism: A Study of the History of Ideas in France from the Latter Part of the 18th Century to the Middle of the 19th Century*. (Studies in the Social Sciences, 11.) The Hague: Mouton, 1973. Pp. 213. 28 gls.

In examining how the "natural man" of the Enlightenment was transformed by internal liberal development and moral-socialist criticism into "universal . . . proletarian . . . natural man," Dr. Gruner adds to our knowledge of postrevolutionary liberals. Saint-Simon and the Saint-Simonians, Fourier and Considérant, early socialists like Buchez, and even Karl Marx. However, there seem to be more generalizations, interpretive points, and suggestive ideas of the author's than there are concrete, balanced accounts of the individual thinkers and schools of thought she is synthesizing. Particularly irritating is Gruner's habit of discussing, labeling, and defining major ideas and terms in different parts of her book. And even though she is dealing with "connections," not the "connected" schools and theories, that is no reason for virtually equating the Enlightenment with what she calls "the Condillac man," as if the philosophes agreed with her label of "economic materialism" whereby "natural man" would automatically labor for the prosperity and happiness of all if freed from state and church control. The chapter on Marx is also too brief to show his connection with all French liberal and socialist theories since Condillac or to justify divorcing him from his German philosophical context. Throughout the writing is involved, poorly edited, and often incomprehensible.

The book's strongest sections are in the middle. The reader begins to grasp the originality of the author's approach as "liberals," "economists," and "idéologues" add historical, eco-

nomic, and scientific support to Enlightenment ideas of natural progress by an economically free society. Several superior chapters on social critics of this laissez-faire liberalism clarify the author's main thesis of the interplay of liberal "economic materialism" and socialist "moral socialism." Moral critics, bent on eradicating the egoism and disparity of wealth not eliminated by the automatic "laws" of liberalism, sought interventionist, though peaceful ways to a harmonious society: the abolition of property; distinguishing of a two-stage "bourgeois" class evolution and eliminating the first, "idler" stage; detaching the "exploited workers" (proletariat) from the "exploiting workers" (capitalists) and then reconciling the former to cooperative ways; infusing society with religious-moral principles; and so forth. Gruner concludes that Marx pulled together "economic materialism" and "social moralism" in a unique synthesis, though by sacrificing the "universal" nature of man and by oversimplifying the "bourgeois" class.

A. LLOYD MOOTE  
University of Southern California

STEVEN T. ROSS. *Quest for Victory: French Military Strategy 1792-1799*. South Brunswick, N.J.: A. S. Barnes and Company. 1973. Pp. 320. \$12.00.

Professor Ross in this short volume has provided a useful synthesis of the military and diplomatic history of the revolutionary decade of the 1790s, based, for the military aspect, on extensive work in the historical archives of the ministry of war in Paris. Twelve brief chapters take the chronological story from the diplomatic preliminaries leading up to the war that began so disastrously for France through the intervening years to the final victories that ended the campaign of 1799. The author reviews the Old Regime diplomatic setting in the early nineties, to which was added the ferment of political strife in Paris. The seesaw course of events of 1792-93, which led to the creation of the First Coalition, and the overwhelming threat that was posed to the First Republic by foreign and civil war are neatly outlined. Then came the "turn of the tide" as the Committee of Public Safety successfully solved the pressing problems posed in 1793, making possible the victories, both military and diplomatic, in the following years and the "muted victory" of 1797. For Bonaparte's brilliant campaign of 1796 had ended what was left of the First Coalition but had not brought peace. The quest for final victory then produced the aborted planning for a cross-channel

attack on England, Bonaparte's grandiose Egyptian expedition, and French involvement in the Irish rebellion of 1798. Failure in all of these led to the formation of the Second Coalition, the threatened invasion of France in 1799, and the end of the crisis by the end of the year with French victories. But the quest for victory had not been successful, and it would be left to General Bonaparte to continue the quest.

The author, however, wisely avoids viewing the story as merely prologue to the Napoleonic years, as a disastrous failure until the great leader took charge. In his conclusion he intelligently balances the Republic's failure to solve the problem of civil-military relations and its place in French public opinion with its having defeated the Second Coalition and made France the most powerful nation in Europe. Yet I wonder if too much has not been left out of this narrative. The quest for victory had begun in 1792 with a missionary zeal for the ideals of the Revolution, and the massive opposition to the Revolution in Europe in 1793 was motivated not only by traditional foreign policy objectives but for ideological reasons as well. The author's concentration on the traditional diplomatic and military motives should not have obscured that fact. Yet, given its limits of size and scope, this is a useful book.

GORDON H. MCNEIL  
University of Arkansas,  
Fayetteville

ÉPHRAÏM HARPAZ, editor. *Benjamin Constant et Goyet de la Sarthe: Correspondance, 1818-1822*. (Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, 26.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1973. Pp. 758.

This heretofore unpublished correspondence has been drawn primarily from collections deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire de Lausanne. It consists of almost four hundred letters exchanged for the most part between Benjamin Constant and the liberal elector Goyet de la Sarthe relating to the years 1818-22 when Constant represented the department of the Sarthe in the Chamber of Deputies.

The letters deal with a number of important political issues during that period of the Restoration when the liberal phase came to an end with the assassination of the Duc de Berry and reaction set in. Throughout the correspondence Constant and Goyet reiterated the need to defend the Charter against the subversive efforts of nobles, curates, and Ultra ministers whose apparent intentions were to modify the consti-



tutional structure in such a way as to facilitate a return to feudalism. Goyet undertook not only to reassure Constant of solid political support but also to urge the deputy to be ever more resolute in the defense of liberal principles. "Energetic measures are needed in times of crisis," asserted Goyet in 1820 during the debates on the law of the double vote, and his exhortations seem increasingly frantic as the reactionary tide grew stronger.

This correspondence is of importance because it reveals the tactical problems confronting Benjamin Constant, liberal politician as well as ideologue. What position, for example, were liberals to take with respect to the election of the regicide Abbé Gregoire to the Chamber in 1819? Was he to be encouraged to stand fast against the Ultras' efforts to exclude him from the lower house, or was he to be entreated to resign his seat in the interests of political harmony? Of particular importance in these letters is the nature of liberal politics at the local level. Goyet was bothered by the considerable number of minor officials who were removed from office because of their political associations or opinions, and he deplored the success of the Church in frustrating efforts to improve primary education in the department. In describing the political condition of the Sarthe, Goyet emphasized the fact that liberal sentiment was strongest in the rural areas whereas conservatism was more firmly rooted in the towns, particularly Le Mans. In sum, this collection of letters, capably edited by the Israeli scholar Éphraïm Harpaz, constitutes a valuable addition to the published source materials relating to a critical period of French history.

ALEXANDER SEDGWICK  
University of Virginia

*Histoire de l'administration.* (Institut Français des Sciences Administratives, Cahier number 7.) Paris: Éditions Cujas. 1972. Pp. 134. 18 fr.

ALBERT MABILEAU, editor. *Les facteurs locaux de la vie politique nationale.* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Politiques de Bordeaux, Centre d'Étude et de Recherche sur la Vie locale. Series Vie locale, 2.) [Paris:] Pedone. 1972. Pp. 411. 45 fr.

Both of these volumes record the proceedings of academic colloquia held in France in 1969 and 1971 and published in 1972. Both also, in one way or another, are manifestations of the remarkable recent revival among the French of interest in the provinces and their relation to Paris. In addition, the fact that the much more

vigorous and stimulating of the two was the product of a provincial university offers an important clue to the reason for this new preoccupation with the provinces. Not merely are they the object of new interest, they have become much more interesting in their own right and to themselves, in some ways more interesting than even Paris.

*Histoire de l'administration*, produced by the Institut français des sciences administratives in its series of *cahiers*, is not much more than a large pamphlet. Following an introductory statement by the secretary general of the institute, M. Guy Braibant, there are ten brief papers including important surveys of the history of administration as taught in the faculties of law and economics by Pierre Legendre and in the faculties of letters and humanities by A.-J. Tudesq. There are then three papers on the state of the archives in the field, a history of administrative law in nineteenth-century France, and a report on the current state of the subject in Great Britain. After a brief discussion there are finally three helpful bibliographical annexes rounding out a useful, probably indispensable, survey of the field for anyone intending to undertake serious work within it.

*Les facteurs locaux dans la vie politique nationale* is a volume of over four hundred pages containing articles and comments by some fifty participants in a two-day conference sponsored by the Institut d'études politiques de Bordeaux. Unfortunately a brief review does not permit dealing with the contributions individually, and to single out one or two would in this case be impossibly invidious. The subjects covered were grouped under four main headings: the influence of local structures on national politics, the local ties of national political figures, voter behavior in local and national elections, and the influence of local and national politics in history (1830-1940). The participants, although predominantly from Bordeaux and the southwest, included guests from other provinces and even Paris, not to mention two from the United States.

While such general conclusions as can be drawn from this rich array might seem anticlimatic—local issues tend to dominate local elections, but national considerations become overriding in national politics—the vitality of the debate makes the volume exciting reading. Its principal, although not exclusive, focus is on the nonurban areas of the provinces, the endless communes with several hundred inhabitants and a *maire* that make up traditional agricultural France. It is hardly a new discovery



that these communities behave differently when electing representatives to departmental assemblies and deputies to Paris, but the roots and significance of this behavior have seldom been so effectively explored, even if they are not entirely resolved.

The limits of the study would seem to lie in its treatment of the administrative factor in the total governmental equation. It is not that this is ignored or played down, but rather that it is handled with too much traditional deference and too little uninhibited curiosity. Where future investigation will lead is hard to say, but two possibilities come to mind. First, it might be worth considering local elections (of departmental councilors who work directly with the prefects) as part of the administrative rather than the political process. This possibility would seem to suggest, in turn, that the election of deputies committed to a wholly disciplined majority in the assembly was in effect a form of political abdication to the administrative process.

Is it possible that the real problem lies in a general failure, by French as well as foreign scholars, to grasp the full implications of administrative government in France? Americans, of course, have little instinctive feel for the phenomenon and have to make a special effort to absorb it. But how could the French fail to understand the major framework of their public lives? Perhaps because they have known nothing else, they take it as much for granted as Monsieur Jourdain did his prose. Whatever the answer, the two volumes reviewed here will make a welcome contribution to a better understanding of the subject in France and abroad.

E. W. FOX  
Cornell University

THEODORE ZELDIN. *France 1848-1945*. Volume 1, *Ambition, Love and Politics*. (Oxford History of Modern Europe.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. 823. \$19.50.

Volumes in the Oxford History of Modern Europe series are of long gestation; readers' appetites and critics' knives have plenty of time to be whetted for the feast or the kill. Each new volume must also measure up to a painfully high standard set by the early authors in the series.

Theodore Zeldin's weighty work on modern France—only the first of two volumes that promise to total some 1600 pages—lives up to expectations. It is an important book, in part because it is so unorthodox. Zeldin has wisely

chosen not to write another detailed chronological history, one that would inevitably have inspired questions about the need to retrace a path so well marked out by Brogan, Cobban, and others. His subtitle, *Ambition, Love and Politics*, might seem more flippant than serious, yet the reader will find that it fits the content remarkably well. Zeldin is dealing with important problems of social history that most of us tend to neglect, mainly because they are so hard to get at. The central focus is on "the attitudes, the ways of thinking, and the human relationships which underlay the behaviour of Frenchmen." Anyone who has tried to generalize about a nation's mores and values, or even about those of a limited segment of the nation, is aware of the swampy nature of the terrain. Yet Zeldin plunges into that bog with energy and imagination, asking questions that we often tend to avoid and challenging assumptions that have often hardened into dogma.

Ambition is the central theme of part 1: the hopes and beliefs of the various sectors of society. Although the longest chapters deal with the peasants and the workers, where Zeldin synthesizes a great deal of recent scholarship, the most intriguing treatment is that of the bourgeoisie, which is examined not en bloc but in a series of eight chapters focused on various key professions or segments of modern France's social and economic elite. Doctors and notaries, for example, get chapters to themselves, along with bankers, bureaucrats, industrialists, and small *commerçants*. Part 2, keynoted by love, looks at marriage and morals, children, and women. These relatively brief chapters, which wrestle with the problem of the family as a unique shaping institution, are among the most stimulating and original in the book. Part 3 on politics is almost in the nature of things somewhat less innovative, since historians have swarmed about that fragrant field for years. Yet even here Zeldin offers many fresh perceptions and takes pleasure in "loosening up" many established beliefs.

No brief review can adequately summarize the content and thesis of so rich and complex a book. One striking aspect is the enormous mass of evidence on which the author has drawn, ranging from obscure provincial autobiographies, accounts of medical superstition and quackery, and popular guides to career choices, down to the latest specialized articles and even to unfinished research projects currently under way. At times one doubts that the more arcane sources will bear the full weight of the interpretation that rests on them; still,

they provide what meager evidence we have on certain interesting topics. One is struck, too, by the reiterated emphasis on variety and fragmentation; almost every chapter rings this theme, leaving the frustrating impression that nobody can generalize about anything French. The book thus resembles an infinitely complex mosaic whose interlocking patterns are beyond the power of the eye to grasp as a whole. Yet Zeldin hints at a generalization of his own: the crucial role of the intellectuals, which he suggests as the key to an understanding of modern French history. This theme he promises to develop in his second volume, along with such fascinating topics as "the history of anxiety," changing fashions in personal behavior, and the survival of independent regional cultures in this highly centralized nation. If Zeldin's treatment complicates rather than simplifies the task of historians who seek to interpret France to readers and students, if it provokes occasional responses of skepticism or dissent, it is also likely to lead many of us into rethinking our subject and following some of the signposts to future research that are scattered through the text.

GORDON WRIGHT  
Stanford University

J. P. T. BURY. *Gambetta and the Making of the Third Republic*. [London:] Longman, 1973. Pp. x, 499. £8.50.

The history of the formative years of the Third French Republic has frequently been written, but, save for a very few general works in French, a detailed account of Gambetta's rather heroic role in these lackluster years has been wanting. Bury, who many years ago began his Gambettan studies with the admirable *Gambetta and the National Defense* (1936), has now satisfied this need well and thoroughly. His extensive study, the second in a proposed trilogy covering all of Gambetta's career, is negotiated along the lines of Gambetta's complicated and extensive political maneuvering between the years 1871 and 1877. The narrative is nicely balanced by reference to the editorial opinion of the *République française*, Gambetta's personal journal, which presented in printed prose what the orator could only express in "vague but warm rhetoric." And with a fine touch Bury describes Gambetta's *liaison amoureuse* with Léonie Léon, of particular interest for the political insight revealed by Mlle. Léon, who regularly reviewed the public activities of her "sublime master."

The result is a detailed analysis that treats Gambetta with critically restrained admiration. Although the study offers little that might be called new or revisionist in interpretation, it provides an excellent appreciation of Gambetta's opportunist republicanism, with particular attention directed to his posture as a moderate who trailed a "tail" from the left—his Belleville legacy. If Gambetta failed to create a united republican party and if, despite his efforts, the republic came in silently by the side door, not triumphantly through an "azure portal," he nonetheless succeeded in his major task, that of securing the republic. In describing these developments, Bury constructs a good political biography, occasionally illuminated by statements about Gambetta the private person.

On the whole, this is a carefully wrought study, well-documented and frequently graced with felicitously chosen quotations. Yet it is not without a few difficulties. Bury often writes unnecessarily intricate sentences and uncommonly long paragraphs, the combination of which does not facilitate the reading of the long narrative. Moreover, he violates the chronological order of organization, in which chapters span several months, when he includes two chapters devoted to brief but years-long surveys of Gambetta's attitude toward foreign affairs and the army. Neither of these chapters is particularly informative or purposeful to the definition of the study.

This said, one concludes that *Gambetta and the Making of the Third Republic* is a meaningful addition to the literature on the political history of the early Third Republic.

RAYMOND F. BETTS  
University of Kentucky

FERNAND GAMBIEZ. *Libération de la Corse*. (La libération de la France.) [Paris:] Hachette Littérature, 1973. Pp. 318. 38 fr.

General Fernand Gambiez performed a labor of love in his minutely detailed, first-hand account of the liberation of Corsica from Axis occupation in September 1943. The "épopée" of Corsica might have been recorded in a few pages if the operation had occurred, for example, as part of the vast slaughter on the eastern front. But the miniature scale of the Corsican campaign could be deceptive, for it signified the first recovery of French metropolitan territory; it was a sort of laboratory testing of guerrilla warfare, which was soon to be of great use to the resistance movement on the French mainland; it provided a case study

of Captain Liddell Hart's "strategy of the indirect approach" to which General Gambiez pays tribute in his introduction.

Corsica, l'Île de Beauté, is placed in its strategic and historical setting by General Gambiez, who then proceeds to the Armistice of June 24, 1940. It brought into the department a small control commission of Italian officers who, for twenty-eight months, exercised a lenient surveillance over the Vichy French civil and police authorities as well as the small armistice army. Ineffectual attempts at fascist propaganda were undertaken with the Corsicans, who were reminded of their historic Pisan and Genoese connections and their dialect so closely related to Italian. The Vichy authorities were concerned over "Italian irredentism," but the disembarkation on November 11, 1942, of an Italian army corps (eventually to comprise eighty thousand troops under General Magli's command), occurring several days after the Allied landings in North Africa, intensified the islanders pro-French sentiments. The stationing of a German brigade of seven thousand only increased the determination of the Corsican resistance network, which had been organized in April 1941 by Fred Scamaroni, who was destined for a death of Homeric fortitude.

General Eisenhower's Allied Command was confronted with an embarrassing dilemma on September 8, 1943, when the Corsican resistance, directed by the Front National, abruptly seized control of Ajaccio upon learning of the armistice between the Allies and Marshal Badoglio's antifascist faction. The Ajaccio uprising occurred at an awkward moment when all American and British shipping was committed to supplying the Salerno landings. But fortunately most of General Magli's occupation forces declared allegiance to Badoglio's government, the remainder opting for neutrality. Yet the German danger increased, for the Ninetieth Panzergrenadier Division was being ferried over the Strait of Bonifacio from Sardinia under Kesselring's orders to proceed up the east coast of Corsica to Bastia for transference to the Italian mainland at Livorno. General Henri Giraud, copresident with de Gaulle of the Committee of National Liberation, could not allow the Corsican resistance to be crushed. Without advance notification of de Gaulle (who was to be made irate), Giraud impulsively despatched to Ajaccio from Algiers a "shock battalion" (commanded by Gambiez, then a major), some Moroccan riflemen, mechanized Spahis, and support units. This small army, assigned to General Henry Martin, was trans-

ported to Ajaccio by six French warships and two submarines. The Corsican resistance fighters, General Martin's forces, as well as pro-Allied Italian units made the powerful German Panzer Division run an endless gauntlet of guerrilla attacks on its way up to Bastia and eventual embarkation by October 4.

General Gambiez has supplied a stirring campaign history, not of vast engagements of faceless hordes, but of small-scale actions even at the squad level, and of individual heroes, many of whom were his honored friends.

JERE CLEMENS KING  
*University of California,  
Los Angeles*

FINN GAD. *The History of Greenland*. Volume 2, 1700-1782. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1973. Pp. xviii, 446. \$27.60.

This volume continues the English edition of Finn Gad's definitive history of Greenland. Unlike the first volume, which covered several millennia of time, it is restricted to three quarters of a century that saw Greenland become definitely Danish and marked by actual European settlements along its western shores.

The story is told in detail by the author who explains its beginnings in the Bergen Company and the work of Hans Egede who planted the first mission station at Haabets Øe, through the vicissitudes that accompanied the slow growth of the Greenland Colony and its mission work down to 1782. And one cannot help being struck by the fact that whether this venture was supported by the private Bergen Company or its successor, the Trading Company of Jacob Sewerin, or by the Royal Danish government, in a number of ways it was always carried on at a loss to its backers. Greenland in this period was not a paying proposition.

Two things seem to account for this. First, from the start Danish colonization of Greenland was in no small measure a missionary enterprise dedicated to the Christianization of the native Greenlanders. Thus whether it was carried on by Danish-Norwegians like Egede, his sons and successors, or by Moravian brethren it was not intended primarily as a commercial venture. Second, Danish-Norwegian traders along its coasts were never able to compete successfully with Dutch whalers who profited most from contacts with those natives who gathered blubber, whalebone, sealskins, and furs for the European market.

Gad tells this story well. But even more fascinating is his account of the slow accultura-

tion of the Eskimo population during these years, as a new native language was born from the translation of the Bible into their native tongue; new singing rituals developed; the power of their shamans declined; and their economic, social, and family life changed under the influence of the Europeans who settled in their midst. Surely the account of these changes and how they took place is the author's most original contribution and one of interest not only to colonial historians but to linguists and anthropologists as well.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS  
University of Massachusetts,  
Amherst

A. P. LAIDINEN. *Ocherki istorii Finliandii vtoroi poloviny XVIII v.* [Essays on the History of Finland in the Second Half of the 18th Century]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Karel'skii Filial, Institut Iazyka Literatury i Istorii.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 158.

This short book is a definite contribution to the literature on Finland's position in the Swedish kingdom during the second half of the eighteenth century. The Soviet author, who demonstrates a good grasp of source materials in Russian, Finnish, and Swedish, presents in reasoned fashion his argument that Stockholm's political and economic policies were discriminatory against Finland and thereby resulted in a national awakening on the part of at least a small segment of the Finnish population.

The author shows a sensitivity to a variety of factors causing Finland's economic backwardness, although he places primary emphasis on Stockholm's restrictive practices in areas such as credit and investment. By the end of the century Finland had managed to move forward in the textile, sawmill, and metallurgical branches of industry, although the Finnish population, accounting for 20 to 27 per cent of the Swedish kingdom's inhabitants, contributed only 3 to 8 per cent of the kingdom's total industrial production.

In the political arena, residents of Finland filled no more than 10 to 17 per cent of the seats in the four-estate Riksdag (Parliament), and meetings of this body were limited in location to either Stockholm or other Swedish cities. When the Riksdag was not in session, interim power passed, at least in the pre-1772 period, to a sixteen-member Council of State, which rarely included Finnish representatives. Finns were also denied adequate representation on

important commissions, for example, the economic and trade commission, whose eighty members included one or two Finns, and the so-called "secret commission," which dealt with matters of war and peace.

Political and economic disenchantment with Stockholm reached a peak among Finns in 1788 when Gustavus III attacked Russia, an initiative in foreign policy that meant Finnish soldiers once again were called upon to shoulder arms against Russia. Finnish troops in the eastern part of the country, however, refused to bear arms against their neighbor. A group of 113 officers signed a platform calling for an end to the hostilities started by Gustavus III in violation of the Swedish constitution, a convocation of the Riksdag, and peace with Russia. Some of these officers went even further and sought Finland's separation from Sweden as an independent nation under Russian protection.

While accepting the argument that the movement for independence had a rather narrow social base, the author rightly rejects the notion that its leaders were ignorant or naive. Men like Sprengtporten and Jägerhorn were Finnish patriots in pursuit of a goal that evoked discussion of problems well known to students of twentieth-century Finnish history, for example, the proximity of the Finnish border to St. Petersburg, the removal of foreign troops from Finnish soil as a precondition for peace, and the necessity of good relations between Finland and Russia. The author's treatment of his subject is relevant, refreshing, and of real significance to the scholarly community.

JOHN H. HODGSON  
Syracuse University

KEIJO ELIO. *Otto Kaarle von Fieandt—Suomalainen upseerikouluttaja* [Otto Kaarle von Fieandt—Finnish Officer Trainer]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 91.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1973. Pp. 194.

Three names are intimately associated with the pioneering Haapaniemi military school, in operation 1780-88, 1791-1808, and 1812-19. Its founder was the well-known separatist Yrjö M. Sprengtporten (1740-1819). Samuel Möller (1743-1815) served as director from 1783 to 1788 and from 1791 to 1799. Otto Kaarle von Fieandt (1758-1825), the subject of Keijo Elio's dissertation, was in charge from 1812 to 1819. Elio's account of the school under Fieandt is many sided. He discusses difficulties in recruiting teachers and cadets (four teachers and four-



teen cadets in 1813, sixty cadets and seventeen teachers in 1817), their social origins (of ninety-three cadets, sixty came from military backgrounds, seventeen from civil officialdom, eleven from families of ministers), curriculum (which gradually expanded from topography and reconnaissance to that of a customary military institute), budgetary problems (perennial), physical plant (inadequate), and most alarming from Fieandt's viewpoint, the inexorable, step-by-step assimilation of the Finnish institution into the Russian system. The school's vulnerability was aggravated by its remote location, mounting criticism of Fieandt's administration, the inability of Finnish leaders in St. Petersburg to influence decisions, and a tragic fire, which destroyed the main building in 1818. The doom of the Haapaniemi institution was sealed. Fieandt's resignation was accepted in May, 1819, and shortly thereafter, as Elio writes, "The Topographical School's operations at Haapaniemi ceased when its possessions were packed into eighteen boxes and the shipment left by way of Lappeenranta for Hamina [where a Cadet School had been established]" (p. 156).

The story of the rise and fall of the Haapaniemi School will probably occupy only a footnote in the long sweep of Finnish history, but it is, as Elio tells it, an interesting one, well worth the reading. There is an adequate English summary.

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN  
Heidelberg College

MICHAEL NEUMÜLLER. *Liberalismus und Revolution: Das Problem der Revolution in der deutschen liberalen Geschichtsschreibung des 19. Jahrhunderts.* (Geschichte und Gesellschaft: Bochumer historische Studien.) Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann. 1973. Pp. 312. DM 24.

A more precise title for this work would have been "The Image and Theory of Revolution among Liberal German Historians, 1830-70." The organization loosely follows three principles: criticism of all previous writers on German historiography; reproduction of the opinions of a number of historians about the great English, American, and French Revolutions and others through 1848; and reduction of these opinions to a set of statements for clearer analysis ("theory").

Neumüller's findings will not much surprise those who know the writings of his subjects (principally Gervinus, Rotteck, Droysen, Sybel,

Haüsser, Zimmerman). Most accepted revolution as a historical dynamic but hoped total revolution would prove unnecessary to achieve their own political aims for Germany. Their vision of revolution was thus shaped in part by their political and cultural viewpoint. The ability to see the Protestant Reformation as an early Germanic "revolution" (obviating the necessity of further violent change as in "Latin" countries) was a hallmark of much liberal historical writing. The "excesses" of the Jacobin phases of many revolutions worried these historians, who desired only the bourgeois, moderate, initial changes of the typical revolutionary cycle, not radical social change. Neumüller argues that the liberal historians' ideas were full of contradictions and their hope for a "reform-revolution," possibly from "above" (shades of Bismarck), were doomed.

The author thinks a good deal in categories and antinomies, which lend this book both a useful rigor and misleading stylization. Precisely because he attempts to reduce the often muddled and contradictory descriptions found in narrative histories to clear and unequivocal "theory," he overlooks much of the subtlety and forces the authors into narrow Procrustean beds. The description of Gervinus's admiration for the American Revolution (p. 72), for example, is overstated. Furthermore, one author is often made to speak for an entire cohort, which can be very misleading. Even expecting just one author to speak unequivocally for himself—in the sense that these men often wrote something very different a few years later—would trouble all but the most determined reducers to "theory," such as Neumüller.

The bibliography betrays a rather narrow dependency on German works and translations and betrays little knowledge of the latest international literature on the concept of revolution itself. Finally, despite the series title, there is little attempt to relate the historians to their social context.

Aside from these weaknesses, this is a narrow but often enlightening monograph on a subject that few scholars have analyzed before.

CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND  
University of New Mexico

ADAM MANDRUSZKA and PETER URBANITSCH, editors. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*. Volume 1, *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*, edited by ALOIS BRUSATTI. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.) 1973. Pp. xxii, 666. Sch. 690.



The plan to publish a history of the Habsburg monarchy from 1848 to 1918 in several volumes to be written by scholars from East and West has finally reached the stage of realization. The originator of the project, Professor Hugo Hantsch of the University of Vienna, had worked for this objective indefatigably for two decades, major difficulties notwithstanding. He passed away just about a year before the first volume of the work, properly dedicated to his memory, came out under the editorship of Professor Adam Wandruszka and Dr. Peter Urbanitsch; Urbanitsch had ably assisted the first editor, Hantsch, for several years.

The difficulties inherent in the publication of collective studies with different viewpoints and research methods of various authors might have been expected to be formidable in a work that presents Western and Eastern political philosophies. In this first volume of the set organized by Professor Alois Brusatti and introduced by Wandruszka, they are, however, hardly noticeable.

In the first chapter by Nachum Th. Gross on the position of the Habsburg monarchy in world economy, similarities to France and Russia in regard to the evolution of a slow and lasting process of industrialization are underlined, whereas the rapid industrialization process of Germany is viewed as an exceptional case.

The backbone of the volume is two essays: one by Herbert Matis on the principles of Austrian Cisleithanian economic policies and a more extensive one by the same author jointly with Karl Bachinger on Austria's industrial development. Matis conceives neoabsolutism as continuation and partial fulfillment of the centralization plans of Joseph II, supplemented and further developed by the objectives of Schwarzenberg and Bruck to create a Central European economic as well as political union. Yet such plans pertain, at least in practice, only to the first years of this era until Schwarzenberg's death in 1852. One might question also the strong influence of private economic initiative during that period and conversely the almost complete dominance of laissez-faire liberalism from 1859 to 1879, as Matis sees it. Furthermore, a more analytical approach to the economic aspects of the Compromise of 1867 for Cisleithanian Austria would have been welcome. A further interesting point would have been the question, what kind of experience justified Prime Minister von Koerber (1900-04) to assume that joint economic interests of the Austrian peoples might have

blunted the nationality conflict? No correlation has ever been established to tie national conflict to either economic misery or affluence. Yet all things considered, Matis's essays, and in particular that written jointly with Bachinger, contain a wealth of clearly presented, valuable economic data.

Of the briefer chapters the majority are mainly descriptive, which, depending on the subject matter, more often than not does not diminish the value of the studies. This applies in particular to the chapters by Josef Wysocki on Austrian financial policy; by Richard L. Rudolph on quantitative aspects of industrialization in Cisleithanian Austria; on traffic by Karl Bachinger; domestic trade and its organization with a truly original appendix on tourist traffic by Ferdinand Tremel; and the economic development of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Kurt Wessely.

A delightful analysis in the field of social history is offered in Josef Mentschl's study of Austrian management. Critical in regard to the lack of systematic economic planning is the interesting essay by Eduard März and Karl Socher on currency and banking in Cisleithanian Austria. Karl Dinklage's essay on agricultural development in Cisleithanian Austria would have been stronger if it had emphasized the needs of the Cisleithanian peasants for more and better land. If these demands had been met even to a limited degree an important disintegrating factor in the dissolution process of the monarchy might have been eliminated.

Iván T. Berend and György Ránki in their joint essay on Hungary's economic development from 1849 to 1918 give proper attention to this factor for the eastern part of the Empire. Most interesting is the essay by Ákos Paulinyi on the so-called joint economic policy in Austria-Hungary. He emphasizes that the unexpectedly quick rise of Hungarian industrialization in the last pre-World War I decades presented the orthodox adherents of the view that Austrian agricultural and Hungarian industrial needs supplemented each other ideally, with a problem they were unable to handle and perhaps even to understand.

The last essay by Alois Brusatti on the development of the economic disciplines and economic history in the period under discussion provides the reader with essential and interesting information.

One might have wished for a couple of pages listing the principal data and achievements of the contributors, but altogether this volume represents a major scholarly achievement on

which Messrs. Wandruszka, Urbanitsch, and Brusatti are to be congratulated.

ROBERT A. KANN  
Rutgers University

WERNER KAEGI. *Jacob Burckhardt: Eine Biographie*. Volume 5, *Das neuere Europa und das Erlebnis der Gegenwart*. Basel: Schwabe & Co. 1973. Pp. xx, 642. 65 fr. S.

The next-to-last volume of this monumental biography consists of two major sections: Burckhardt's academic career as *unser großer Lehrer* (as his colleague Nietzsche called him) during the three decades after his final return to his city and university of Basel in 1858, and his keen observation of, and reaction to, the realities and potentialities of the European scene from the Italian war of 1859, through the fateful quinquennium of 1866–71, to the climax and the decline of the Bismarckian era. Being the first to make full use of the vast material of Burckhardt's notes for his lectures, Professor Kaegi presents, in most painstaking detail and with literal quotation of significant passages, his selection of primary and secondary sources as well as his own lively critical and occasionally sarcastic comments. Thus we are enabled to observe, like witnesses, one of the great thinkers of the last century in his study turning the results of research and reflection into the final form of his lectures. In an age of increasing specialization this *uomo universale* covers the wide range of European *discordia concors* from the later Middle Ages to his own *Revolutionszeitalter* of the French Revolution and its aftermath in the present and the anticipated crises of the nineteenth century.

Since after the three great works of his earlier career Burckhardt considered his lectures both to his students and his fellow citizens the form of publication best suited to his genius, they represent in fact potential books, a counterpart to his *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* and *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*, posthumously published in that form. A master of the spoken as well as of the written word, he left a striking impact on his audience, which included everybody of any cultural and social standing in Basel. Because of his unique performance as a speaker, it was natural that some of his students wrote down not only what he said but how he said it. It is a particular merit of the author that, with the help of the decipherment of these lecture notes by one of his students, Dr. E. Ziegler, he has reconstructed the spoken form of representative passages of Burckhardt's most

interesting course on the age of the French Revolution. They show the colorful liveliness of his style, as we know it from his correspondence, and his characteristic blend of matter-of-fact objectivity with the moralizing irony of his Alemannic temper. While in volume 7 of the standard edition of Burckhardt's *Werke* of 1929 E. Dürr published, significantly together with the *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, a selection of Burckhardt's notes under the title of *Historische Fragmente*, now the entire immense material has been made available in this biography, fortunately not only for analysis, but for extensive quotation of heretofore unknown utterances. Kaegi's Burckhardt is not only the archetype of a great university professor, but the proud burgher of his city-state in the center of Europe, who, with the insight and occasional prejudice of a conservative critic, surveys personalities, forces, and problems of his materially so successful century in the *siegesdeutsch angestrichene Reich*, the Third Republic, and the pseudo-imperial *Regno*, including also, among other issues, the *Kulturkampf*, the ambiguous position of the Jews, the lonely crowd of industrialized masses, and the uncanny expectation of a "terrible simplificateur" as the savior of an uprooted society. Thus, this volume, like its predecessors, produces more than the biography of an individual no matter how representative; the constant references to to the interrelations between the sage of Basel and the contemporary world turn it into a cultural history of the later nineteenth century in the heyday of an apparently unshaken bourgeois civilization. The illustrations include some significant sheets from Burckhardt's lecture notes.

FELIX WASSERMANN  
Marquette University

NICHOLAS MARTIN HOPE. *The Alternative to German Unification: The Anti-Prussian Party, Frankfurt, Nassau, and the Two Hesses, 1859–1867*. (Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für europäische Geschichte Mainz, number 65.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1973. Pp. 341. Cloth DM 68, paper DM 58.

The author has examined pro-Austrian and pro-Prussian political movements in Nassau, the Free City of Frankfurt, Hesse-Kassel, and Hesse-Darmstadt. In contrasting the goals of *grossdeutsch* and *kleindeutsch* political movements, he has made an incisive contribution to scholarship dealing with German unification.

Problems common to these four geographical areas in Germany included the potential effects of the Franco-Prussian Commercial Treaty of 1862. Heavy industry tended to ally with Prussia. Light industry, craftsmen, and the Catholics tended to support Austria and the Zollverein. Local conflicts such as differences between Church and state in Nassau and disputes over alternative versions of the constitution in Hesse-Kassel intensified regional differences.

August Metz in Hesse-Darmstadt and Friedrich Oetker in Hesse-Kassel were leaders of *kleindeutsch* political organizations associated with the pro-Prussian Nationalverein and with the Prussian Progressives. The author, relying on party newspapers and on the memoirs of those like the moderate Bavarian, Gustav von Lerchenfeld, has brought these leaders to life. After reading these pages, others may share this reviewer's feeling that, even without the Prussian new era, Metz and Oetker would have made their causes known.

The final section of the book deals with the *grossdeutsch* Volkspartei. After 1864 this organization supplanted and gradually replaced the earlier Reformverein. Leadership included not only the self-made businessman, Leopold von Sonnemann, but also the socialist leader, Johann Baptist von Schweitzer. In joining this *grossdeutsch* movement, the two leaders switched from formerly *kleindeutsch* outlooks. Hope shows that these two leaders, alike in their *grossdeutsch* orientations, differed with each other over the role of the working class in German politics.

This volume would have benefited from a more painstaking job of editing. For example (p. 94), Hope notes that the Lossen brothers, operators of a Nassau iron foundry, opposed the Franco-Prussian Commercial Treaty. This opposition "was conditioned by the state of the Taunus iron industry." However, this reviewer never found, anywhere in Hope's work, an assessment of the conditions of this particular industry.

The habit of keeping quotations in the original German will disturb some readers. Translations would have rendered a well-written book still easier to comprehend.

These are minor problems in a work that capably analyzes some of the "losers" in the German unification movement from 1859 through 1867. Hope's book is indispensable for an understanding of the period and is not likely to be superseded for many years.

JOHN W. CRANSTON  
Rust College

WALTER STRUVE. *Elites against Democracy: Leadership Ideals in Bourgeois Political Thought in Germany, 1890-1933*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 486. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$9.75.

Professor Struve examines the elite concepts of nine German academics, publicists, and political leaders of the Wilhelmine and Weimar eras. The men in question are Friedrich Naumann, Max Weber, Walther Rathenau, and Leonard Nelson on the liberal side; Oswald Spengler, Count Hermann Keyserling, Edgar J. Jung, Hans Zehrer, and Ernst Jünger in the conservative camp.

Beyond all differences between the two groups, Struve finds some important similarities: all nine men developed their elite theories in an attempt to preserve the rule of the upper classes and keep the masses from gaining access to the political life of the nation. At the same time all of them called for "open" elites that admitted qualified individuals from the lower strata of society. In this manner they wished to pay tribute to the rising demands for greater democracy without endangering the existing order. For them democracy was to mean the "absence of class restrictions on elite recruitment" (p. 339). In a concluding chapter Struve explores the connection between these views and the "Nazi concept of democracy of personnel selection rather than decision making" (p. 18).

If Nazi elitism won out over the liberal and conservative versions, one significant reason for the Nazi success is pointed out by Struve in the course of his investigations: on closer inspection most of the liberal and conservative elitists are found to have been vague as to how their specific concept of democracy was to be implemented. When they were more precise, their proposed mode of implementation in some cases all but barred lower-class individuals from rising into the elite. The Nazis, on the other hand, took their "democracy of personnel selection" very seriously in the building up of their party and its affiliated organizations. (Once they had seized power, however, the principle of personnel democracy was applied only in a limited way on the government level.)

Struve's main theme is suggestive, and the book contains many perceptive insights based on an impressive amount of reading. Unfortunately, the treatment is often discursive and hard to follow; an involved style adds to these difficulties. All in all, however, this is a valu-

able contribution to German intellectual history, as viewed in its social and political context.

ANDREAS DORPALEN  
Ohio State University

SEBASTIAN HAFFNER. *Failure of a Revolution: Germany 1918-19*. Translated by GEORG RAPP. [La Salle, Ill.:] Library Press; distrib. by Open Court Publishing Company, La Salle, Ill. 1973. Pp. 205. \$7.95.

This essay, by the German journalist Sebastian Haffner, must be regarded as a dramatized account rather than a full-fledged history of the German Revolution of 1918-19. It lacks not only the trappings of scholarship (neither footnotes nor bibliography accompany the text), but also the depth and perspective of an authoritative work.

Within these limitations Haffner has produced an engrossing and provocative narrative. He concerns himself chiefly with two persistent myths of the November revolution: first, that there was no revolution from below at all but merely the collapse of the bankrupt imperial order; second, that the ill-fated alliance between the majority Social Democrats and the military establishment was needed to thwart a "bolshhevik-led" civil war. In response, Haffner demonstrates the extent of the popular upheaval that swept Germany in November 1918 and forced a reluctant socialist leadership to accept the reins of the revolutionary government. He also argues that the pact between Friedrich Ebert and the high command was designed to stifle this mass movement rather than simply to crush the inept and unorganized Spartacists. Indeed, the original title of the book, *Die verratene Revolution*, much better expresses Haffner's animus against Ebert's alleged betrayal of an aroused working class.

In these respects Haffner's approach is similar to that of revisionist historians of the past decade who have maintained that a genuine revolutionary rising did occur in Germany, even though it largely failed in its democratic as well as its socialistic objectives. Yet Haffner is too preoccupied with personalities rather than policies to lend any weight to this argument. He blames the failure of the revolution squarely on Ebert, whom he accuses of a grovelling identification with traditional authority and a paranoid fear of disorder. In stressing Ebert's shortcomings, however, Haffner neglects such vital factors as the parliamentary tradition of the Social Democrats, the

vacillation and division of the Independent Socialists, and the administrative inexperience of the socialist leadership in general.

In contrast to the treason of Ebert and his colleagues, Haffner contends that "the workers and soldiers who had carried through the Revolution knew instinctively that as long as the old bureaucracy and the old corps of officers retained their power, the Revolution was lost" (p. 107). Yet he fails to account for the acquiescence of the soldiers' and workers' councils in allowing the existing administrative apparatus to function almost entirely unchallenged or their readiness to hand power back to an elected constitutional assembly. In sum, Haffner's book does as much to obscure as to illuminate the troubled birth of democracy in Germany.

LEWIS D. WURGAFT  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

RALF-RAINER LAVIES. *Nichtwählen als Kategorie des Wahlverhaltens: Empirische Untersuchung zur Wahlenthaltung in historischer, politischer und statistischer Sicht*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 48.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1973. Pp. 194. DM 54.

HERBERT KÜHR. *Parteien und Wahlen im Stadt- und Landkreis Essen in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses von Sozialstruktur und politischen Wahlen*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 49.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1973. Pp. 309. DM 64.

Although quite different in conception and theme, these two monographs have a number of traits in common. Both are somewhat revised doctoral theses published in one of the most distinguished German series devoted to that genre; they are stylistically spare, one might say clinical, in their analysis; and they display a methodological sophistication on a par with the best in either the French or Anglo-American traditions of political science.

The subject of electoral abstention is no novelty, and Dr. Lavies makes little attempt to strain for originality. But it is certainly useful to have the matter spelled out in specific German terms and to place his work on the shelf beside Alain Lancelot's *L'abstentionnisme électoral en France* (1968), which performs a comparable service. Inevitably there is some belaboring of the obvious. The value of official statistics, we are told, depends on the rigor of bureaucratic reporting (*Melddisziplin*). The



same tabulations are sometimes examined first in the text, then in a table, finally on a graph. The mathematical exactitude is often overwhelming and occasionally absurd: as when the total response in one public opinion poll reaches only 99.8 per cent, while in another it is 100.1 per cent. Yet such objections are innocuous. Lavies carefully traces the voting patterns in Germany since 1870, showing the steady decline in abstentions under the Empire, the erratic fluctuations during the Weimar Republic, and the extraordinarily steady and high (ca. eighty-seven per cent) rate of electoral participation in the federal elections of West Germany since 1949. He sorts out the various factors that affect voting habits—sex, age, marital status, social standing, religion—and, not surprisingly, he concludes that a general homogenization of the German electorate is becoming apparent (whereas, in the French case, Lancelot also finds increasing homogenization but far less stability). About six per cent of German voters never cast a ballot and may be classified as *Dauernichtwähler*; the others who abstain do so for local, geographical, or accidental reasons. In short, turning out the vote is scarcely a problem in the Bonn Republic and, except for soliciting the young, who tend to fall below the national participatory norm, the parties have relatively little to gain from the frantic eleventh-hour tactics that characterize American elections. All of which is related with competence and unrelenting earnestness.

The Kühr dissertation was completed under Adam Wandruszka and belongs in a methodological genealogy beneath the names of André Siegfried and Rudolf Heberle. It is an excellent addition to the many studies of local history in Germany that have appeared in the last decade. Although he lacks the literary flair of a William Sheridan Allen, Kühr's story is no less fascinating or important. Essen is, after all, located at the heart of Germany's industrial complex; and the collapse of parliamentary democracy there was not an isolated or atypical incident. For the most part, the treatment is conventional political narrative that conforms to the usual chronological pattern of the Republic's fourteen years. There are, however, some characteristic details worth noting: the clear evidence that the conservative parties in Essen were undergoing a radicalization before 1928; that the Center party managed to remain the largest and most stable political formation; that the SPD was remarkably weak in a city where the working class could be estimated at one-third of the population, leaving the KPD as

the second strongest party in the city from 1921 to the end of 1932; and that the NSDAP, despite the considerable exertions of its leadership, experienced a nearly complete lack of local success until 1930.

Neither of these accounts is likely to force a major revision of prevailing textbook interpretations, but they do add to the growing corpus of reliable monographic literature in recent German history.

ALLAN MITCHELL  
University of California,  
San Diego

KARL HOLL and ADOLF WILD, editors. *Ein Demokrat Kommentiert Weimar: Die Berichte Hellmut von Gerlachs an die Carnegie-Friedensstiftung in New York, 1922–1930*. With a foreword by ALFRED KANTOROWICZ. Bremen: Schönmann Universitätsverlag. 1973. Pp. 268.

Hellmut von Gerlach (1866–1935), the grandson of an ennobled bourgeois, was a member of the circle around Friedrich Naumann who tried to combine conservatism with a progressive Sozialpolitik. The disappointments the group experienced in its social approach drove him—as told in his memoirs *Von rechts nach links* (1937)—toward the political left. As editor of the weekly *Die Welt am Montag* he became one of Germany's most discussed journalists, fled upon Hitler's coming to power, and died in Paris. The present volume contains the monthly reports on the political situation of Germany that, from 1922 to 1930, he rendered to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Writing for an American public, von Gerlach quite justifiably simplified the shape of some of the events he pictured, replaced the often cumbersome names of German parties and groups by less complicated concepts, and concentrated on what he believed would interest American readers. In doing so he drew what in retrospect looks like an overoptimistic tableau of the chances of the Social Democratic party, reunited in 1922. Down to the very last moment he failed to see—the editors show—that Hitler would emerge victorious. I will never forget von Gerlach's amazed looks when fleeing—without any luggage—from Berlin to Munich, whence I and another couple smuggled him across the German frontier after the fatal Reichstags election of March 5, 1933, which supported Hitler.

The value of this volume consists in its being some sort of abbreviated manual illustrating in a concise fashion, and in brilliant presentation,



the opinions and hopes of the non-Communist German leftists during the Weimar regime. During World War I these leftists had had to fight primarily the German Anglophobes, the champions of German Weltpolitik. In the time of Weimar they had to attack mainly the German enemies of France, then the mightiest power on the Continent. As an intrepid leader in this fight, von Gerlach was highly regarded in France, and especially in Paris, and it is almost symbolic that he died there.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN  
Washington, D.C.

KLAUS HILDEBRAND. *The Foreign Policy of the Third Reich*. Translated by ANTHONY FOTHERGILL. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 209. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$3.95.

"The break represented by the year 1933 results from the continuity in Prussian-German history." With that provocative thesis Klaus Hildebrand concludes his interpretive essay on Hitler's foreign policy. Those seeking a narrative account of German foreign policy from 1933 to 1945 will not find it here. Rather, the author skillfully analyzes two fundamental questions: what was the relationship between foreign and domestic policies in the Third Reich, and to what degree did that foreign policy represent either a continuation of or a break with the past?

There existed for a time an identity between Hitler's ideas and the wishes of the old elites that had determined policy in the Reich since Bismark—the military, the diplomatic corps, and big business. The "dual state" was in effect a balance struck between these old elites and the new NSDAP elite, a balance that promised to preserve the existing social order by avoiding large-scale social reforms. The cement joining the two was Hitler's program, that set of Wilhelmine foreign-policy goals for German power, eastern expansion, and eventual global empire, which Hitler formalized in a calculated, graduated plan (*Stufenplan*). Hildebrand convincingly demonstrates the continuity between Hitler's objectives and traditional German foreign-policy aims, between his own diplomatic techniques and those of his predecessors.

The discontinuity introduced by Hitler arose from the very continuity in the domestic imperative of his program: the demand for social stability. The advanced state of social polarization between the propertied classes and the

proletariat from 1929 to 1933 required an intensification of the mechanisms for social control. This task was facilitated by entirely new technical methods of manipulation. At the same time, the social enemy became the Soviet Union, the racial enemy the Jew. But the traditional anti-Semitic aspect of Hitler's appeal now burst beyond all past boundaries in the call for a new and biologically superior race. The new society would eventually replace the old elites, the "dual state" would be foreclosed. But in the excessive application of these mechanisms the original goal—the maintenance of the existing social order—was completely lost from view. Thus the teleological nature of the system whose goal was to draw the historical process to its end and to produce a biological culmination through the breeding of a new race represents a "revolutionary discontinuity in German history."

The continuity in German foreign policy seemed dependent upon calculation. From 1933 to 1940 Hitler shrewdly blended calculation and risk (another element of continuity in German history) until he had virtually completed the first phase of his *Stufenplan*. But war in the West rendered an alliance with Britain impossible; war in the East signaled an end to calculation. In Operation Barbarossa, in which a solution to the "Jewish question" was sought in conjunction with the conquest of Lebensraum, calculation gave way to dogma, sound military judgment to extermination.

No serious scholar can afford to overlook Hildebrand's important contribution to our understanding of Hitler's foreign policy. His perceptive analysis is based on a thorough command of the relevant literature; his case is stated clearly and persuasively. Unfortunately, the translation is uninspired and the index inadequate.

MARSHALL M. LEE  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

MARTIN L. VAN CREVELD. *Hitler's Strategy, 1940-1941: The Balkan Clue*. (International Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press, for the Centre for International Studies, London School of Economics and Political Science. 1973. Pp. x, 248. \$13.95.

*Hitler's Strategy, 1940-1941* is a careful study of German policy toward Yugoslavia and Greece. This thoroughly documented monograph makes good use of German and Italian wartime records as well as later studies and memoirs (less

so of East European materials). It provides many good insights into the complexities of a region where governments jockeyed uneasily among multiple enemies and unreliable friends. German-Italian rivalry, too, properly figures as a significant factor, as does uncertainty over British and Soviet responses to German bids for hegemony in southeastern Europe.

Van Creveld's evidence shows that the German attack on Greece was delayed because of Bulgarian, Yugoslav, and Turkish reluctance to cooperate, bad weather, and concern over the Soviet response. Perhaps the major novelty of his argument is to deny the conventional view according to which the campaign against Yugoslavia and Greece caused a postponement of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union from mid-May to June 22, 1941. His argument is interesting and serious, though in part circumstantial and less than watertight.

His search for an underlying calculus in German policy making leads the author to a neat periodization in Hitler's thinking—a direct attack on England, a “peripheral strategy” against it, and finally the decision to dispose of the Soviet Union in 1941, so as to be free to deal with the Anglo-Saxon world in 1942. While Hitler wanted Greece for his peripheral moves in the Eastern Mediterranean in late 1940, he failed to move against her. By the time Barbarossa was scheduled, the Italo-Greek war could not be permitted to linger on the Nazi flank. This is a sensible argument, but the resulting picture of frequent reversals, frantic vacillation, and wholesale shifts of Nazi objectives does seem exaggerated.

The author also gives the impression of unduly shifting responsibility for German moves onto the intransigence of others—e.g., Greek failure to accept Nazi mediation with Italy in December 1940, Molotov's demands on Germany in November 1940, and the Yugoslav revolt in March 1941.

Finally, Dr. Van Creveld appears to give excessive weight to the prospect of Soviet intervention in the Balkans in 1940–41 (for instance, in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, or at the Straits). Given Stalin's overriding effort to gain time and sit out the conflict as long as possible—and especially after the miserable showing of the Red Army in the Finnish Winter War—the Soviet use of force to stop the Germans in southeastern Europe in 1940–41 was an utterly unrealistic prospect and amounted to little more than a rationalization for Hitler and the OKW.

ALEXANDER DALLIN  
Stanford University

WINFRIED SCHULZE. *Landesdefension und Staatsbildung: Studien zum Kriegswesen des innerösterreichischen Territorialstaates (1567–1619)*. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 60.) Vienna: Herman Böhlaus Nachf. 1973. Pp. 292. DM 60.

This study, based on archives in Vienna, Graz, Ljubljana, and Klagenfurt, is a meticulously detailed illustration of Max Weber's thesis that external pressure has an important determinative influence upon the evolution of a state's political structure. The pressure in this case was supplied by the Turks; the response of the Inner Austrian Lands had lasting effects upon their institutions and political thinking, some of which contradict conventional wisdom about the state-making process in the early modern period.

In 1574 and 1575 the estates of Inner Austria, motivated by the inadequate border defense provided by the Landesfürst Archduke Charles, took the initiative in proposing a new centralized military organization that would improve recruitment, supply, and command of border forces. This question was pushed urgently at the Generallandtag of Bruck in 1578 and led to the establishment of a Hofkriegsrats at Graz in the same year.

The first half of this study is devoted to these developments and to the council's activity once it was established. Mr. Schulze's more important point—elaborated in detail in the later chapters—is that the initiative of the Estates was not an expression of the customary polarization of politics in the territorial states of the period but a step toward overcoming it. They were not challenging the Landesfürst's prerogatives but providing him with a new instrument of centralized authority and with the means of supporting it, and thus were contributing to the process of building a more integrated state.

The military institutions that they favored worked towards the same end. The Landesfürst had preferred to rely on mercenary armies; the new system relied more on native musters and mobilization of local resources. For both the peasant population and the local nobility the result was a new identification with the state and—in Mr. Schulze's words—“a higher degree of administrative, economic, social and military contact that . . . created a new sphere of social communication” (p. 248). Along with this, he insists, came the first stirrings of a new political consciousness, which one finds, to take only one example, in the Estates' perception, in 1574, of their country as a “whole being, with your

princely eminence and the true lands as head and limbs" (p. 135).

GORDON A. CRAIG  
Stanford University

HORST BRETTNER-MESSLER, editor. *Die Protokolle des österreichischen Ministerrates, 1848-1867. Part 6, Das Ministerium Belcredi. Volume 2, 8. April 1866-6. Februar 1867.* With an introduction by FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI. Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst. 1973. Pp. lxxxviii, 478.

No short review can do full justice to the variety and richness of a documentary collection such as the present volume of protocols of the Austrian Council of Ministers. This volume, the second compiled by Brettner-Messler, completes the ministry of Richard Belcredi (1865-67) and is distinguished by the same editorial thoroughness as its predecessor (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 1459-60). The same inherent limitations of the protocols also appear. The documents published are the final version presented to the Austrian emperor, after emendation and revision by the ministers individually. Some of the atmosphere in which deliberations occurred is probably lost as a result, and the documents are certainly encumbered by an added measure of official jargon and style, which makes them less than exciting reading. We know also that some ministerial councils met for which no records were kept, or for which no records have survived. The importance of such imperfections should not be overemphasized, however, simply because the Council of Ministers exercised no real authority. We again find the ministers—during a period of extreme importance for the Austrian Empire—discussing the details and ramifications of decisions and major policy changes in which the council figured only peripherally. As a governmental organ the council exerted slight influence upon the two critical decisions of the months covered in this volume: the war with Prussia and the *Ausgleich* with Hungary.

Most of the protocols dealing with the Austro-Prussian conflict have already been published, at least in part, by Heinrich Srbik (*Quellen zur deutschen Politik Österreichs*); Joseph Redlich (*Das österreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem*); Richard Blaas (*Il Problema Veneto e l'Europa*, vol. 1); and Angelo Filipuzzi (*La campagna del 1866 nei documenti militari austriaci*). Brettner-Messler adds the minutes of the important military conferences of March, April, and May 1866 and uses notes on the ministerial councils

and conferences taken by the adjutant general, Count Crenneville. The protocols (all of which are printed in full) also offer additional details on the compromise with Hungary. The Prussian and Hungarian problems have been extensively treated, however, and students of the domestic problems and developments of the Empire may find other subjects touched on by the councils more interesting and rewarding. (The status of Galicia after the Hungarian settlement, the expansion of the railway network, and economic developments are good examples.) In any case, the protocols are useful. Even though the ministers did not make the decisions, they did debate the nature of the problems confronting Austria as well as the range of alternatives considered by the government in dealing with those problems. For that reason alone the records of the ministerial meetings are valuable documents, and this collection of them is extraordinarily well done.

RICHARD B. ELROD  
University of Missouri—  
Kansas City

B. N. FLORIA. *Russko-pol'skie otnosheniia i baltiiskii vopros v kontse XVI-nachale XVII v.* [Russian-Polish Relations and the Baltic Question at the End of the 16th and the Beginning of the 17th Century]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Slavianovedeniia i Balkanistiki.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 220.

Floria's book is a study of Russo-Polish relations between 1587 and 1605. As the title suggests, the author believes that, in these years between the end of the Livonian War and the internal collapse of Russia in the Time of Troubles, the rulers of both countries concentrated their diplomatic efforts, above all, on improving their position in the struggle for possession of the Baltic States. On the Polish side, Sigismund III and his councilors aimed at conquest of all of the Baltic territories and, in the case of the king himself, all Swedish domains. The Muscovites' goals were considerably more modest. Boris Godunov and his diplomatic advisers wanted to acquire an opening on the Baltic for Russian diplomats and traders. Failing greater triumphs, Narva, which had served as a Russian port in the years of Ivan IV's Livonian triumphs, would suffice. Sweden stood between both powers and the realization of their Baltic ambitions. The logic of the situation, then, pointed to a common front of the two Slavic powers to drive the Swedes from their foothold

in northern Estonia and release their stranglehold on the eastern Baltic. In fact, of course, events did not follow so neat a pattern. In the last years of the sixteenth century, misunderstandings and clashing ambitions in other areas divided Russia and Poland as often as the danger from Sweden united them. And in 1605 Sigismund III gave Polish support to the first False Dmitrii, beginning a policy of armed intervention in Russia's internal affairs. Before long, Muscovy and Poland were mortal enemies, and Sweden was left alone to transform the Baltic into its private lake.

This, in rough outline, is the story that Floria tells, and he tells it well. His research is impressive; he has used published materials in an impressive range of languages and worked extensively in Soviet and Polish archives. Moreover, the author has assembled the scattered materials in a clear and cogent narrative. In most cases he explains the bewildering shifts of policy convincingly and with refreshing modesty. In seeking the roots of each nation's actions, Floria gives due weight to economic rivalry, political ambition, and religious strife. At times, as he points out, the mechanics of diplomacy themselves changed the course of negotiations; one power might miss a favorable moment for an alliance with another simply because its ambassador could not reach the court of the would-be ally quickly enough. Finally, the author admits frankly that the surviving sources do not suggest any reasonable explanation for a few of the most bewildering policy changes.

The book has its shortcomings to be sure. It is diplomatic history of a rather conventional type. At times the diplomatic struggle seems to take place in a vacuum. In all fairness, Floria links the changing policies of the Baltic powers with their domestic problems and with the general balance of forces in Eastern Europe. At times, however, I found his sketches of the political and strategic background of diplomacy too brief and perfunctory. Moreover, the narrative is a bit dry and colorless. In particular, the principal actors rarely come to life, and their individual contributions to the diplomatic struggle are not stressed enough. Even Sigismund III remains a two-dimensional figure even though Floria makes clear that it was the king who was personally responsible for undertaking the disastrous crusades to reconquer Sweden and subdue Muscovy. In spite of these limitations, however, Floria's study is an impressive and valuable treatment of an important

phase in the complex relations between Russia and Poland.

ROBERT O. CRUMMEY  
University of California,  
Davis

ATHANASIOS A. ANGELOPOULOS. *Hai zenai prop-  
agandai eis tēn eparchian Poluanēs kata tēn  
periodon 1870-1912* [Foreign Propaganda in the  
Province of Poluane, 1870-1912]. (Hetaireia  
Makedonikōn Spoudōn, Idruma Meletōn Cher-  
sonēsou tou Aimou, 137.) Thessaloniki: Institute  
for Balkan Studies, 1973. Pp. 175.

Focusing on Poluane, a present-day Greek province in Macedonia (an Ottoman region before 1912), Athanasios A. Angelopoulos catalogs in great detail, village by village and where possible household by household, the efforts between 1870 and 1912 of the Bulgarian Exarchate, the Serbian government, the Bulgarian Uniate Church, and the Protestant missionaries of the Levant, to "subvert the Hellenic Orthodox spirit" of the Greeks of the province. Relying almost exclusively on documents in the archive of the Greek-oriented Orthodox Metropolitanate of Salonika, Angelopoulos selects evidence in support of the traditional Greek position on the befuddled "Macedonian question" that still haunts, as the publication of this book shows, Greek, Bulgarian, and Yugoslav relations. According to this account, Greek speaking Greeks and "slavophone-hellenophones" (Slavic speakers of Hellenic sentiment), targets of foreign propaganda, suffered coercion by "bribery, terror, anarchic acts, threats of assassination and assassination itself." Because of their "spiritual and overall superiority" they either publicly maintained their true identity "or else under force appeared to be subjected to foreign national enslavement."

About the Macedonian controversy, few things are certain—and Angelopoulos acknowledges none of them. Thanks to extensive tampering with statistics and elections by all sides, Macedonian statistics are useless. And of all the charges and countercharges of coercion by bribery and terror made by all sides, no party was fully exempt.

At best, Angelopoulos offers a guide to contemporary Greek sources that one hopes will some day be put to good use by scholars, free of the biases that too often mar studies of this and other sensitive topics in Balkan history. It is a pity that the monograph series of the Institute for Balkan Studies should allow a national-



ist polemic in scholarly dress to occupy a place in its otherwise outstanding list of books.

GEORGE D. FRANGOS  
Vassar College

PATRICIA KENNEDY GRIMSTED, *Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR: Moscow and Leningrad*. (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972. Pp. xxx, 436. \$22.50.

This volume will be a boon to exchange students and others about to embark on a program of research in Soviet archives. Its core is an annotated bibliography of the most important published finding aids for each repository in Moscow and Leningrad; another volume, which will cover major provincial centers, is promised. The finding aids are general descriptions and surveys (either of a whole archive or of specialized collections within it), guides, catalogs, and inventories. They range from multivolume editions to pamphlets and brief articles in historical journals. The bibliographical entries (575 in all) are fuller than they tend to be in Soviet reference works, and the accompanying annotations indicate the relative strengths and weaknesses of each item. We are told in what respect the information they contain is outdated, inaccurate, or incomplete. It is duly stated where the entries give detailed references to *fond* numbers. Since many of these works are bibliographical rarities, it is particularly helpful to be given their call numbers in the Library of Congress and Harvard University Library collections.

Thanks to Dr. Grimsted the aspiring foreign scholar should henceforward be able, when submitting his application to Soviet authorities, to provide the specific information they require about the files he wishes to consult. The practical problems faced by historians from abroad when working in Soviet archives are sagely examined in the introduction to this volume (pp. 5-83). Also included here is an account of the current system of political-administrative control and a historical sketch of the way in which the country's national archive fund has been built up since the earliest times. Dr. Grimsted provides us with a veritable Ariadne's thread through the labyrinth of institutional changes and "archival migrations," which were especially frequent during the 1920s and 1930s. Her account is at times somewhat repetitious, and one would have welcomed a bolder effort to distinguish between those reorganizations that were simply nominal or administrative and

those that involved physical rearrangement. One could also have wished for a fuller analysis of the motivations behind the changes, although this is perhaps a task best handled separately. What emerges clearly is the extent to which Soviet archival organization, although more thoroughly centralized than that of any non-communist country, has involved numerous practical compromises. As a result some of the principal holdings are based upon those of institutions established long before the Revolution. For this reason many guides published during the nineteenth century are still of value, and they have accordingly been included in this bibliography.

It is still current Soviet practice to deny researchers, especially foreigners, direct access to unpublished finding aids. It is therefore good news that over the next five years no less than forty-six guides and handbooks are scheduled to appear in print, as well as inventories of some of the most ancient documentary collections in Tsentral'nyy Gosudarstvennyy Arkhiv Drevnikh Artov (compare G. A. Belov in *Arkheograficheskiy ezhegodnik za 1971 god* [Moscow, 1972], p. 270). One hopes that these reference works will be published in sufficiently large imprints to meet the demand for them and that they may be followed by other bibliographical aids of a standard commensurate with that of this volume. Dr. Grimsted's study should also stimulate emulation among Western scholars. It would be worthwhile, for example, to compile a bibliographical guide to the numerous collections (or more accurately, selections) of documents published in the USSR since the Twentieth Party Congress. For all the political bias they display, they contain much useful information, not least concerning the location and nature of archival material.

JOHN KEEP  
University of Toronto

*Recent Studies in Modern Armenian History*. (National Association for Armenian Studies and Research.) Cambridge, Mass.: Armenian Heritage Press, 1972. Pp. x, 141. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$4.95.

Literature dealing with modern Armenian history has been noticeably permeated by a characteristic proclivity to view regional concepts from the narrow perspective of the East-West ideological struggle. It is therefore mostly out of focus and insensitive to the patterns of social evolution peculiar to the Armenians. It is also somewhat superficial and simplistic in approach,



since material descriptive of modern Armenian history is normally marred with preconceived Western notions and ornamented with a few brief quotations. Ten individuals, mostly from the academic profession, contributed to make this publication somewhat more representative of current thinking about some aspects of modern Armenian history. The substance of the book was first presented in the form of papers by participants in the Conference on Modern Armenia: History held at Harvard on October 29 and 30, 1970, and sponsored by the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research. Although many problems were left untouched, the publishers felt that a combination of general discussions with papers on special topics would provide a better understanding of modern Armenian history as a whole. Thus topics range from broad discussions of Armenian nationalism to detailed accounts of Armenian immigration to the United States during the first quarter of this century.

The questions of the emergence of the Armenian national awakening and the Armenian liberation activities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are ably dealt with by Srpouhie A. Essefian and Manoog S. Young. While the former traces the pioneering efforts of Israel Ori in the West, the latter primarily concentrates on the activities of Joseph Emin in the Transcaucasus. Both contributors attribute the failures of those noble attempts at the liberation of Armenia from its Muslim rulers to a lack of genuine interest in the plight of the Armenians by the Western Powers and Russia.

Richard G. Hovannisian's article, "The Armenian Occupation of Kars, 1919," is a notable attempt at providing a sound, lucid, and detailed historical sequence from 1877 to 1919 for the occupation of this strategically important district by Turkey, Russia, and Armenia.

Three articles are valuable as cogent summaries of their subjects. John Richardson's article, "The American Military Mission to Armenia," gives a solid account of the investigations of the Harbord Mission and its official report to President Woodrow Wilson. The article by Joseph L. Grabill, "Protestant Diplomacy and an American Mandate for Armenia, 1914-1920," focuses, though somewhat overenthusiastically, on the American Protestant activities to create a more sympathetic American attitude toward Armenians and to convince Congress to assume a mandate for Armenia. Thomas A. Bryson's article, "Walter George Smith and the International Philarmenian League," describes the sincere efforts of a former president of the

American Bar Association to present the Armenian question to the League of Nations.

Vahakn N. Dadrian's article, "The Methodological Components of the Study of Genocide as a Sociological Problem: The Armenian Case," has the important value of a pioneering effort. The author not only discusses genocide in specific sociological terms, but he also draws an interesting parallel between the two major cases of holocaust in this century, namely, the Armenian during World War I and the Jewish during World War II.

The last three articles deal primarily with the Armenian community in the United States. Edward Minasian's article, "The Armenian Immigrant Tide: From the Great War to the Great Depression," not only provides valuable immigration statistical data, but it also cites some of the hardships that most Armenian immigrant aliens have encountered in the United States. The article by Robert Mirak, "Outside the Homeland: Writing the History of the Armenian Diaspora," adopts a refreshing and convincing approach to this subject matter. The author compares the economic, social, and political factors that forced the Armenian exodus from the Ottoman Empire to the United States with those that caused the emigration of Europeans to the New World. Jack Danielian's article, "Armenian Cultural Identity: Problems of Western Definition," discusses some aspects of the true nature of prejudice against the Armenians in the United States and reasonably concludes that the identity of a given minority can be achieved only through linking one's cultural past to the present.

All in all, this volume should be welcomed by the community of scholars. It is the product of a well-planned project. All who have collaborated in contributing to its publication will be rewarded in years to come by its great utility as a significant impetus to research on modern Armenian history by area specialists and social scientists alike.

VARTAN H. ARTINIAN  
*University of Massachusetts,  
Amherst*

J. G. GARRARD, editor. *The Eighteenth Century in Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 356. \$21.00.

This collection of thirteen original essays by fourteen British- and American-educated specialists examines disparate facets of Russian cultural and intellectual evolution in the eighteenth century. If the authors follow no stand-

ard model, neither do their efforts encompass equal portions of space, chronology, or significance; nor, indeed, do they reflect a shared interpretation. The essays fall into four broad topical-chronological subdivisions: the history of ideas, Petrine Russia, Catherinian Russia, and the arts. Such thematic diversity is partly coordinated by a common concern with questions of borrowing, imitation, and autochthonous development.

Just as the different essays vary widely in focus—from sweeping surveys through period pieces to studies of special subjects—so they also differ considerably in quality and intrinsic interest. Marc Raeff's treatment of the Enlightenment, for instance, plumbs that immense phenomenon to offer both provocative generalizations and arresting asides. By contrast, Tamara Talbot Rice contributes an uninspired recitation of artistic trends that barely exploits the possibilities of her subject. Along with the talents of authorities like Raeff and Arthur Wilson, who meticulously reconstructs Diderot's visit to St. Petersburg in 1773–74, the collection exhibits work of younger specialists like James Cracraft's stimulating sketch of Feofan Prokopyov, Max Okenfuss's two brilliantly revisionist discussions of Petrine educational institutions, G. Gareth Jones's astute analysis of Novikov's early journals, Anthony Cross's impressive panorama of "the British in Catherine's Russia," and In-Ho Ryu's controversial exposé of "Moscow Freemasons and the Rosicrucian Order." Though interesting and original in conception, Robert Jones's survey of Catherine II's urban planning policies neglects some of the European sources of her ideas (for example, cameralism) and bears slight relation to the volume's cultural-intellectual focus. Compared to these fresh investigations, the remaining essays—Harold Segel on classicism in Russian literature, Alfred and Jane Swan on music, and Joel Spiegelman on keyboard music—add breadth but little depth to the work as a whole.

Nearly all the contributors concentrate upon "high" culture and the social elite that produced and consumed it; they scarcely consider popular and provincial culture. Nor is much attempt made to link cultural evolution to economic, social, or political developments. Essays on the impact of modern science, the theater, and other modes of literature would have bolstered the book's appeal and strengthened the editor's claim to have addressed "most, if not all, of the significant problems" of the period. While the contributors maintain a high level of factual accuracy, the volume repeats

some dubious generalizations, such as the alleged negative impact of the Pugachev Revolt on literature and thought, the citations could have been fuller in some instances (Professor Ryu is apparently reacting against, but fails to mention, the views of the late George Vernadsky and Gilbert McArthur), and there is a depressingly large number of typographical errors. Still, with forty-one monochrome plates enhancing the text, this book signifies a praiseworthy maturation of Anglo-American scholarship on heretofore neglected subjects.

JOHN T. ALEXANDER  
University of Kansas

MARC VUILLEUMIER *et al.*, editors. *Autour d'Alexandre Herzen: Documents inédits. (Révolutionnaires et exilés du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Études et documents publiés par la Section d'Histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève, 8.)* Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1973. Pp. 345.

Although this collection of documents is not without interest and is generally well edited, it gives the reader very little new information about Herzen the thinker and radical publicist. Any future biographer of Herzen will be grateful for it, but the student of nineteenth-century Russian radicalism will find the pickings rather slim.

The bulk of the letters in this volume were the property of Herzen's grandson Nicolas, who died in Lausanne in 1929 after a distinguished career as a professor of law at the university there. His inheritance also consisted of a part of his grandfather's library and such memorabilia as the menu from a dinner that Herzen gave for Garibaldi in April 1864. The entire collection was acquired by the Public and University Library of Geneva in 1967.

The heart of the book is the first full publication of the extant correspondence between Herzen and Carl Vogt, although all but one of Herzen's letters have appeared in the Soviet edition of his complete works. The introduction, correspondence, and notes all clarify Herzen's involvement in Swiss politics, particularly in the late 1840s and early 1850s; indeed there is much here for the student of Swiss politics. Moreover, Carl Vogt, who may now be chiefly remembered for Marx's attack on him, was a most accomplished letter writer: witty, of independent judgment, a masterful raconteur, and a delightful commentator both on the vagaries of his household and on the vicissitudes of Swiss and European politics.

The remainder of the book consists largely of

letters to Herzen from a variety of figures, most of them radicals. The Italians include Leopoldo Spini and Mazzini; the only German represented is Moses Hess, whose interesting criticism of Herzen's *The Russian People and Socialism* has been previously published, as have a number of other documents that the editors have seen fit to include, duly indicating the prior publication.

The content of many of these letters is disappointing. Four unpublished letters from Herzen to Louis Blanc is an exciting prospect, but they are of interest only for a defense of Bakunin from the charge, made by a Russophobe English diplomat, that he was an agent of the Russian government. Despite Herzen's considerable contact with the Swiss radical politician James Fazy, we are given only one letter, asking Herzen for a loan. The letters from Polish emigrés are somewhat more substantive, and Joachim Lelewel and Stanislas Worcell are important figures. But this group of letters is longer on noble hopes and grateful sentiments than on concrete information.

One may perhaps sum up by saying that this book was deserving of publication; still, it will be of circumscribed interest to a relatively small group of historians of European radicalism in the doldrums after 1848.

ABBOTT GLEASON  
*Brown University*

ALLEN SINEL. *The Classroom and the Chancellery: State Educational Reform in Russia under Count Dmitry Tolstoi*. (Russian Research Center Studies, 72.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 335. \$14.00.

No one can ever again frighten naughty children with the specter of Count Dmitry Tolstoi—Allen Sinel has defused him for us. This book is corroboration of what many other recent studies of official Russia have been showing us—that the tsarist bureaucracy was no better and no worse than it should have been and that it operated rationally enough within its own frame of reference. This observation helps to explain the relative social stability of the system, at least until the time of Nicholas II when everything seemed to fall apart at once. Tolstoi's problem as minister of education lay in the inherent contradiction of his task: to create a modernized (fully literate and partially learned) nation but not a critical one. The entire tsarist apparatus faced the same issue.

But that is not to say that Tolstoi had no

options. Sinel points directly to the major miscalculation of Tolstoi's career: he created a highly centralized system in which the government itself was responsible (and held responsible by society) for every mistake. By curtailing any possible autonomy in the system, Tolstoi created a situation in which St. Petersburg took all the blame. As Kadet V. A. Maklakov, an alumnus of the Moscow Third Gymnasium, tells us, "Long after finishing the gymnasium, I could not keep myself from spitting if passing its building."

Sinel's book is not a rehabilitation of Tolstoi. The author allows himself to fall prey to the rationalizations in the vocabulary of Tolstoi and his associates, and he never loses sight of the political motivations. But he goes beyond the superficial hostility of the liberal critics and examines before he indicts. There is a certain restraint in the way in which Sinel, a university professor with deep concern for academic freedom and autonomy, deals with the autocratic minister of education. "It was not a convincing thesis," he remarks, after describing Tolstoi's argument for total control over curriculum. Occasionally one feels that Sinel controls himself only by the use of outrageous extended metaphors, which use humor to deflect his own sense of outrage. The many medical similes are a case in point: Russian society is sick, Dr. Tolstoi prescribes a medicine, Russian society cannot swallow the pill, Dr. Tolstoi fears an epidemic and prescribes purgatives, and so on. The touch of black humor makes a point that Sinel, speaking soberly in his own voice, hesitates to make.

One of the strengths of the book is the broad perspective. Sinel, of course, comments on the contemporary European educational situation; he also gives his own view of the problems as seen from the perspective of a century later. He continually brings our attention to college trustees and state legislatures, student rebellions and the demand for relevance, and so on. Such contemporary yardsticks have their disadvantages, of course; they become outdated very quickly. The concerns of the academic year 1970-71 are already almost as distant as 1870. In the midst of the strangulation of the academic marketplace of 1974, it is amusing to discover that "the Russian academic class [was] too small to furnish enough qualified lecturers. Statistics compiled by 1868 substantiated the rectors' complaints about the many empty professorial chairs."

LINDA GERSTEIN  
*Haverford College*

M. G. VANDALKOVSKAIA. *M. K. Lemke—Istoriia russkogo revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia* [M. K. Lemke—Historian of the Russian Revolutionary Movement]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 217.

V. S. VASIUKOV, editor. *Kritika burzhuaiznoi istoriografii sovetskogo obshchestva* [A Critique of the Bourgeois Historiography of Soviet Society]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1972. Pp. 410.

The historian Mikhail Konstantinovich Lemke (1872–1923) helped the Russian Revolution discover its past. He wrote or edited a number of scholarly articles and books on the nineteenth-century revolutionary movement, including *Nikolaevskie zhendarmy i literatura 1826–1855* (St. Petersburg, 1908), *Ocherki osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia shestidesiatykh godov* (St. Petersburg, 1908), and a twenty-two-volume collection of Alexander Herzen's writings (1915–25). Now M. G. Vandalkovskaia, herself a Herzen expert, has written an excellent study of Lemke that shows how his views of the revolutionary movement developed with respect to other historians, his personal life, and political events around him.

Vandalkovskaia divides her book into three sections: a biography of Lemke, an analysis of his work on Herzen, and a study of Lemke's writings on the "men of the 'sixties," including N. G. Chernyshevski and N. A. Dobrolybov. In them she shows how Lemke moved from provincial journalist and zemstvo liberal in 1905 to a "Red professor" and Bolshevik in 1922, only a few months before his death. She concludes that "politically Lemke accepted Marxism but his historical conception continued to exist in the framework of liberal-bourgeois historiography and never reached the level of his political position." In other words, Lemke remained throughout his life a scrupulous editor and scholar who always returned to his primary sources and, when possible, interviewed the surviving relatives of his subjects. If Lemke's Herzen and Chernyshevski turned out to be liberals in 1905 and revolutionary socialists after 1917, this shift in perspective never compromised his scholarly standards. Vandalkovskaia, too, despite a bow to some similarities between Lemke's and Lenin's views of Herzen, has used Lemke's unpublished diary, essays, letters, and family archive with great care.

This book should interest anyone concerned with either the revolutionary movement or Soviet historiography. For Lemke ultimately

helped legitimize the Revolution by elucidating its historical sources.

V. S. Vasiukov has edited a collection of essays whose content is less serious. His purpose is to demonstrate the anti-Soviet bias of Western scholarship, whether "reactionary-conservative" or "bourgeois-liberal." The book contains essays by different authors on the October Revolution, the civil war, the New Economic Policy, industrialization, collectivization, and World War II. There is no discussion of Stalin's rise to power, the purges, the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, or Stalin's behavior after the German attack in June 1941. Stalin himself appears very infrequently, and then as neither hero nor villain.

There is much criticism and occasional praise of various Western historians. Those who portray October as a fortuitous coup d'état (Daniels, Ulam) are chastised; those who stress the importance of the labor movement (Haimson, Liehman) are to be congratulated. There is too much sympathy for the White Army generals (Brinkley, Footman) and not enough emphasis on Western military aid to them. The New Economic Policy appears in Western historiography as a combination of exhaustion and concession, a "peasant Brest-Litovsk," but it was really a conscious socialist policy. Theodore Von Laue is "completely incorrect" to compare Witte's state capitalism with the Five-Year Plans (p. 150). Although there were some "mistakes," as in the winter of 1929–30, collectivization was no "revolution from above" but a cooperative movement. On the other hand, E. H. Carr is "one of the most objective bourgeois researchers," and American revisionist historians (W. A. Williams, Alperowitz, and Horowitz) are "realistic thinking bourgeois scholars" (pp. 151, 282).

It is difficult to compare two books whose purposes are, respectively, historical and political. The Soviet historian, it would seem, may deal seriously with nineteenth-century revolutionary antecedents, but he must beware the pitfalls of twentieth-century postrevolutionary consequences.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMS  
Washington University

STEPHEN F. COHEN. *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888–1938*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1973. Pp. xix, 495, xvii. \$15.00.

For the general reader, if not for the scholar, the story of the Bolshevik Revolution, indeed

of Russian communism at large, has been preempted by the towering figures of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin. This, while understandable, has not been altogether desirable. Indeed, even the careers of those "three who made the Revolution" can be seen in a true perspective only if examined against the life stories of others whose importance to the movement at times rivaled that of the famous trio. We have lacked a full-fledged treatment of the people who are as important to the understanding of the beginnings of Bolshevism as Krasin and Bogdanov. In the post-October period the fortunes of communism were affected, at times critically, by actions and/or writings of some half dozen people. To a Russian communist they would have seemed, at least until 1922, more important than Stalin and yet they remain, except to a scholar in the field, virtually unknown. Mr. Cohen's biography is thus doubly welcome: it is a first-rate book, and one hopes that it will start a trend.

To write a biography of Bukharin is to undertake an enticing, but by the same token a somewhat risky, intellectual enterprise. It is enticing because Bukharin was clearly one of the most attractive and intellectually interesting of the Bolshevik luminaries. A man of humane impulses and of a wide range of intellectual interests (George Gamov recorded how after a lecture of his in the twenties Bukharin quizzed him about possibilities of nuclear fission), he was clearly the most engaging figure among Lenin's lieutenants and, at the same time, a weightier intellect than most of those who later tried to bar the way to the full horror of Stalin's despotism. Yet by the same token the biographer runs the risk of succumbing to Bukharin's undoubted charm, of seeing in him not only a man of humane impulses, but a tolerant and wise statesman—something, alas, he was not; not only an erudite and often scintillating essayist but a profound thinker, a verdict that cannot be endorsed. At times Professor Cohen appears quite conscious of danger on this count. In fact, one can hardly improve on his characterization of his hero, when in the beginning of the biography he sees the consciousness of the threat of the totalitarian state as contributing to some of Bukharin's "most dishonest and tortuous rationalizations of Soviet developments [even though] over the years it was a liberalizing element in his Bolshevism, part of what made Bukharin, despite his chronic public optimism, a man of private fears." The author catches on to the radical intellectual's fatal propensity, especially

in a crisis, to seek to be one of "the boys," not yielding in toughness to a Stalin or Trotsky when he acknowledges that during the civil war "Bukharin produced some of the most gruesome statements legitimizing Bolshevik violence." Yet at other times this insight and salutary caution abandon the author: Bukharinism is seen as a viable alternative to Stalinism, the true prefiguration of "socialism with a human face," which one hopes will inherit and transform the communist world. One does not have to subscribe to Solzhenitsyn's scathing characterization of Bukharin (where the great writer displays less than his usual compassion) to recognize such views as unrealistic. It is, in fact, inconceivable to imagine Bukharin as the leader of a communist regime rather than an ideological coadjutor and spokesman for some stronger man. Was there in reality such a thing as Bukharinism, the term that like Trotskyism was originally invented by the Stalinists as one of opprobrium? It is difficult to elevate Bukharin's sensible, even if not forceful enough, strictures on the folly of Stalin's war on the Russian peasant into an ideology. "Socialism with a human face" would, as a bare minimum, require the possibility of political dissent and free discussion within the general consensus on socialism, something that no Soviet leader, Bukharin included, was, after 1922, willing to concede except and until his own views were being repressed. And so the fundamental tragedy of communism was not that it eventually led to Stalin's despotism, but that it stilled or rendered ineffectual the humane impulses of people like Bukharin. We must be grateful to Mr. Cohen for tackling this complex problem. One must disagree with an occasional conclusion and question some of his interpretations, but one cannot fault his scholarship or his skill in telling this tragic story so well.

ADAM B. ULAM  
*Harvard University*

NICOLAS DE BASILY. *Diplomat of Imperial Russia, 1903-1917: Memoirs*. (Hoover Institution Publications 125.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University. 1973. Pp. x, 201. \$6.00.

The author of this memoir, Nicolas de Basily, came from a Romanian-Albanian family whose members had been prominent in the Russian diplomatic service. After attending the Alexander Lyceum in St. Petersburg, he, too, entered the foreign ministry. The chief focus of this



account is on the war and, in particular, on the period leading to the abdication of Nicholas II. At this time the author was the director of the diplomatic chancellery at the army headquarters at Mogilev. In this capacity he drafted the document of abdication. The memoir gives a detailed description of the circumstances surrounding this event.

In many ways a typical memoir of the time, Basily's concentrates more on depicting court life and the personal characteristics of the leading statesmen than on political analysis. As a descriptive account of the general conditions and atmosphere surrounding the tsarist government prior to its downfall, this book can be recommended in particular for use in classes on Russian history. Basily was not, however, a keen or critical observer of the contemporary diplomatic scene. A large portion of this account is devoted to the question of the Turkish Straits. A lengthy memorandum (thirty pages) written in November 1914 is appended. Basily saw as the ultimate goal here the annexation of the Straits with a suitable hinterland as well as the acquisition of the Aegean islands of Tenedos, Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace, although he realized that such wide aims were not easily attainable. He also recognized that free passage through the Straits would give the Russian navy "the opportunity of becoming a menace in the Mediterranean, and that, if we possess important naval forces, would considerably strengthen our influence in the world. As already stated, the Straits are an excellent naval base for operations in the Mediterranean" (p. 158). What is remarkable about this memorandum is that it is written quite in the spirit of similar analyses made in the nineteenth century when Great Britain, with her preponderant sea power, was the great adversary. All of the standard arguments of the past are repeated with really no allowance made for the fact that by November 1914 Britain had become a wartime ally while the former tsarist partners, Germany and Austria-Hungary, had, in contrast, become enemies, a shift that profoundly affected the significance of the Turkish Straits for Russian security.

BARBARA JELAVICH  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

ALFRED LEVIN. *The Third Duma, Election and Profile*. [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1973. Pp. x, 210. \$8.50.

This monograph, like Professor Levin's previous work. *The Second Duma* (1966), is another of

the much-needed studies contributing to the history of the short-lived Russian attempt to set up a constitutional monarchy. The adoption of that new governmental form was neither easy nor successful, and this thorough study, stressing various aspects related to the election and function of the Third Duma, shows this to the satisfaction of an inquiring scholar. The more generous attitude of the tsarist regime toward the constitutional practices ceased with the dissolution of the Second Duma and the new electoral law of June 3, 1907. Although the law retained the principle of representation for broad categories of the population, in essence it aimed to produce a submissive and harmless body serving the regime, not the people. To this end the law established an elaborate system of indirect elections, multiplication of voter categories (*curia*), and other restrictions. To ensure success, the favoring of property owners, both rural and urban, and of Russian nationalists became the guiding policy of the premier, Peter Stolypin.

The scheme worked well, and the author did not encounter any difficulties in proving it from the large number of sources and publications available to him. Notes supporting his findings (496 in all) run through pages 153-86. The work, with hundreds of data and figures, offers in the first four chapters a profile outlining some aspects of all political parties. The chapter "The Restless Borderlands," the weakest in the book, deals primarily with the Poles, the Jews, and the Muslims and ignores Ukrainians altogether, despite their being the largest non-Russian nation (some thirty millions). Other chapters analyze the relationships among the political parties, the attitude of the voters, the elections, and the formation of factions together with their relationship in the new Duma. The victory of autocracy, orthodoxy, and Russian nationalism in the elections (301 deputies out of 442) reflected a retreat from the October Manifesto of 1905.

Levin corrects the belief of some historians that autocracy was totally alienated from Russian society. There was little disagreement across the whole spectrum of the Russian political parties about the question of the preservation of the Russian colonial empire at the expense of the forty-five per cent who were non-Russians.

Other features of Levin's findings reveal the ignorance and indifference of the peasantry, the inability of political parties to compromise on essential issues, and the ability of the traditional Russian statist system to recover

from the setbacks of the events of 1905. Hence, the collapse of the tsarist regime in 1917 cannot be explained with exclusive reference to internal problems: war and military defeats were the main cause and all other factors only accompanying elements.

By employing a minutely descriptive style, the author made this study exclusively for experts. But even this group would have been helped had he realized the advantages of tables, graphs, and even an ethnographic map illustrating the national composition of the Russian empire. The preference and special attention extended some peoples and the neglect to elaborate on the problems of other nationalities create the feeling of uneven treatment and selective objectivity. However, these shortcomings would not suffice to question Levin's scholarship, competency, and the value of the study itself. Students of Russian history will appreciate this contribution that stimulates discussion and further inquiries.

STEPHAN M. HORAK  
Eastern Illinois University

C. VAUGHAN JAMES. *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 146. \$9.95.

Mr. James has produced a valuable study of the central governing methodology which dominates the whole of art and literature that is officially acceptable in the USSR. Further, he includes the impressive array of institutions and practices employed to assure the enforcement of socialist realism.

Socialist realism is so foreign to the Western democrat imbued with the values of an open society that there is a strong tendency to reject it as something antithetical to human nature but another of Stalin's artificial inventions in the name of maximizing centralized power. Stalin certainly utilized the concept to this end. Nevertheless, the proponents of socialist realism are surely closer to the mark in arguing that it is Leninist, based upon an evolutionary development rooted in Marxian philosophy.

In further developing Marxism, Lenin claimed to have perceived details of the applicable laws and, in creating the party vanguard, to have discovered an all-knowing head whose primary duty (second only to perpetuating its place in power) was to spare no effort (or blood) in seeing to it that society marches in the direction of the ultimate goal. Thus the essence of socialist realism is "based on a direct relationship between the artist and the

process of building a new society; it is art colored by the experience of the working class in its struggle to achieve socialism" (p. 88). Again, of course, only the party knows what the working class really wants.

Perhaps a good way to understand the vital importance of socialist realism to the Soviet system is to recall that the Marxist-Leninist-Soviet definition of freedom is the "perception of necessity." The known absolute goal is the construction of communism. Marxian-Leninist laws delineate the correct path to communism, and socialist realism provides the proper consciousness of the masses so that they will willingly, indeed joyfully, proceed along the prescribed route. As Stalin observed in 1932, "If the artist is going to depict our life correctly, he cannot fail to observe and point out what is leading it toward socialism. . . . It will be Socialist Realism" (p. 86).

As such, all art worthy of building a classless society can be of only one kind. There can be no painters' painter, no literature intelligible to only a relatively small handful of intellectuals. Only a popular art intelligible to the totality of the masses is acceptable.

James demonstrates that this Marxian-rooted "essentially Leninist" idea is derived from "three basic principles of Soviet aesthetics—*narodnost* (literally people-ness) . . . *klassovost* (class-ness) . . . and *Partiinost* (party-ness)—the identification of the artist with the [Soviet] Communist Party."

No human can be fully objective. The reader deserves to know the author's own view, if only stated in a paragraph in the preface. I rather seriously fault James for his pretense at neutrality. There are other shortcomings—for example, the kulaks who were destroyed were not just "peasants who employed others" (p. 77). The work is not fully objective; it is not perfect, but it is a very valuable study of a vital aspect of life and thought in the USSR. Anyone who reads James's book will find it hard to dismiss the awesome reality of Soviet socialist realism.

ROY D. LAIRD  
University of Kansas

P. A. ZHILIN *et al.*, editors. *Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sovremennost'* [The Second World War and the Present]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Voennoi Istorii, Ministerstva Oborony SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 354.

The key to the scope of this book is the second part of the title; whereas the reader might an-

ticipate a military treatise, the collection is really about the lessons the World War II experience provides in the official Soviet view. These "lessons" are summarized in the introduction and the first and third articles. The last three articles have an extremely tangential relationship to the war: they treat postwar United States policy, NATO, and Soviet bloc politics. In addition to a general survey of the Soviet military contribution to the defeat of the Axis, there is also a special chapter on the war against Japan, which advances the astonishing claim that the Red Army brought about the defeat of Japan at Guadalcanal. Three articles discuss resistance movements in Europe and its colonies, emphasizing the role of Soviet citizens and Communists. Another article essays to demonstrate that Soviet military help was instrumental in the formation of the Eastern European "people's democracies," but that the decisive element was indigenous popular demand. A less tendentious article summarizes recent Soviet conclusions on the nature of Soviet partisan organization, recognizing some of its shortcomings.

The remaining eight articles (of a total of twenty) treat aspects of the diplomatic history of the war and its prologue. Of these, four pieces dealing with the onset of the war and its spread to the USSR are restatements, in an extreme form, of the familiar recent Soviet thesis that the Western powers (including the United States) plotted to turn Hitler against the USSR. Since the articles rely primarily on more detailed Soviet works and on Western revisionist historiography, with only occasional reference to published documents and memoirs, the historian will hardly find this part of the book very useful. The remaining four articles do deal with monographic subjects that have received comparatively little special treatment in Soviet historiography: Japanese plans on the eve of war, Italian preparation for the attack on Greece, Switzerland's precarious position, and the role of Scandinavia. Although no new Soviet sources are cited, bibliographical references to a wide range of Western literature may be helpful. Like the remainder of this book, however, these four monographs must be approached with caution. Thus, while correctly stressing anti-Soviet motives behind the Anglo-French plans for intervention in Scandinavia in late 1939, one author completely omits mentioning the substantial Soviet naval assistance then being rendered to Germany in the adjoining Barents Sea area. More surprising is the assertion that British "provocative actions" (in

seizing the *Altmark* and mining the Norwegian Leads) brought about Hitler's invasion of Scandinavia, especially considering how other authors in the collection berate Britain for failure to carry on the war vigorously and criticize Switzerland for a neutrality that "objectively" assisted the Axis.

JOHN A. ARMSTRONG  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

#### NEAR EAST

ARTHUR RUPPIN. *Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*. Edited with an introduction by ALEX BEIN. Translated from the German by KAREN GERSHON. Afterword by MOSHE DAYAN. New York: Herzl Press. 1971. Pp. xix, 332. \$6.95.

In contrast to other societies in the underdeveloped areas of the world, Israel stands out as an anomaly because its industrial development was firmly rooted in a highly productive agricultural system and in highly motivated, literate, and intensely nationalistic farming communities. As a consequence Israel was able to take off in its industrial development immediately following its liberation from British imperial controls and both absorb and support a vast inflow of immigrants. To the degree that any single individual can be credited with this remarkable achievement, it was Arthur Ruppín, who as early as 1907, when he first came to Palestine to evaluate settlement plans for the Zionist Organization, recognized the crucial role of a productive agricultural sector manned by dedicated Jewish settlers for a viable Jewish homeland in Palestine. Ruppín was then ready to support such highly innovative cooperative ventures as the *kevu'tzah* and the *moshavah*.

Ruppín was no less sensitive to the Arab problem. He struggled to find some *modus vivendi* that would allow for expanding Jewish settlement without displacing the Arabs, and for many years he was active in the Brit Sholom, which advocated a binational state. At the same time he was realistic enough to recognize that Arab nationalism could not be fended off by the economic benefits that would follow from a modernizing beachhead of Jewish settlement in the Near East, and he had no alternative but to support a viable Jewish homeland, however violent the Arab response. Nonetheless, he always clung to the hope for reconciliation.

All these qualities that made Ruppín so distinguished a Zionist leader come through in

this book, a thoroughly absorbing and sensitive self-revelation. The work is divided into two parts. The first is an autobiographical account of his early years until his exile to Constantinople during World War I. The second is excerpts from his diaries and letters selected by Alex Bein. Both sections prove fascinating reading and serve to illuminate for the historian the intriguing process by which a Jewish boy born to well-to-do parents in a small German town, Rawisch, but reared in extreme poverty following on his father's failure in business in Magdeburg became first a successful grain merchant, then by assiduous effort a student at the Universities of Berlin and Halle, and finally a fully qualified lawyer and the first sociologist of the Jewish people ultimately to use his "Western" skills to build a homeland for the Jews in a highly primitive slip of land in the Near East.

Alex Bein is to be commended for his perceptive introduction, the quality of his selections from the diaries and letters for 1920-42, and for his inclusion, as an afterword, of a speech given by Moshe Dayan before the graduates of the Israel Defence Force Command and Staff School in September 1968 that reflected on Ruppin's open-ended approaches to the Arab question. An especial commendation is due to Karen Gershon whose English rendering of Ruppin's German made it difficult for me to put the book down.

ELLIS RIVKIN

Hebrew Union College—  
Jewish Institute of Religion

JACQUES TFOBIE. *Phares ottomans et emprunts turcs, 1904-1961: Un type de règlement financier international dans le cadre des traités*. (Publications de la Sorbonne, Université de Paris I—Panthéon-Sorbonne. International Series, 3.) [Paris:] Éditions Richelieu. 1972. Pp. 218.

Despite the catchy title, there is nothing here about lighthouses. The subtitle describes the subject, which is the international financial negotiations of a group of French capitalists to get from Turkey and other Ottoman successor states payments due on three pre-1914 loans made to the old empire. The loans were secured by the income of the Administration Générale des Phares de l'Empire Ottoman, which collected fees from ships using Ottoman ports.

Originally a Sorbonne thesis, this essay in economic history is drawn almost entirely from records of the French lending group headed by Pierre de Vauréal. Thobie shows meticulously how the group tried to get from

the Ottoman successor states the full interest and capital due them in Turkish gold liras under the original contracts. The three loans totaled 855,000 liras, a modest affair but important to the dozen or so lenders. They were successful negotiating with the mandatory governments of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, and Italy (the Ottoman successor in the Dodecanese Islands). Although Greece paid only two-thirds, although Bulgaria and Yugoslavia made only minimal token payments, and although Al-Hijaz, Nejd, Asir, and Yemen paid nothing, the creditors emerged ultimately with a tidy ninety-four per cent of their claims.

The meat of the story is the negotiations with Turkey, which owed by far the largest sum. The republic did not, like Russia, repudiate its predecessor's debts but stubbornly insisted that times had changed since 1913 and that Vauréal's group be treated like the Ottoman Public Debt bondholders, scaling down claims by about half. After sometimes stormy negotiations between 1928 and 1933 the Turks won. Şükrü Saracoğlu and Vauréal reached an agreement whereby the creditors abandoned their contractual claims, accepting a compromise total in fifty-year Turkish bearer bonds at 7.5 per cent.

Much of the account is arid, though usually clear. There are many tables, in which a few columns add incorrectly. Only occasionally do the dramatic aspects of the story appear; this is in part because almost all individuals remain names only, not personalities. Vauréal and Antonin de Mun are exceptions. Important Turkish individuals are hardly made flesh and blood. Thobie is fair about presenting the Turkish nationalist position, but he evidently sought no documents or interviews in Turkey.

Were the whole story of lighthouses, concessions, and loans fully developed, there is probably material for a book as fascinating as David Landes's *Bankers and Pashas* (1958). Since the Administration des Phares was run by a French firm owned by Vauréal and others of his lending group, and since Vauréal was administrator of the Phares, it appears that Thobie has left out half the story in his single-minded concentration on international financial haggling. What he has done is on the whole well done. He should do more.

RODERIC H. DAVISON

George Washington University

MICHAEL LLEWELLYN SMITH. *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. 401. \$14.95.

This book, a successfully popularized doctoral dissertation, comes as the first and very welcome synthesis of widely scattered archival and memoir materials concerning the most crucial turning point of modern Greek history: what the Greeks themselves refer to as the "Asia Minor Catastrophe."

For the specialist the book's chief contributions center on the diplomatic history of Greek relations with the Allies and particularly Great Britain. What we have here is a fascinating model of interaction between a great power and a client state, acted out by charismatic personalities like Venizelos and Lloyd George, in an undertaking of great relevance to our own post-World War II era (i.e., Truman Doctrine, "Vietnamization"); the attempt to establish an Anglo-Greek condominium in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The ensuing rapid rise of Greece to the status of a solid second-class power, capable of replacing Ottoman Turkey in British Middle Eastern policy, is truly breathtaking. The equally rapid fall from this pinnacle adds to the narrative a dramatic quality transcending ordinary diplomatic and military history—something akin to the epic sweep of *War and Peace*. This is conveyed by the author with a fine sense of perspective, neither exaggerating nor belittling the role of the protagonists in complex, multidimensional events.

Throughout the narrative there is an awareness of social and economic factors, which make it rich in incidental insights into Greek political processes and institutions. The most interesting such insights concern the familiar phenomenon in modern Greek history of the inability of the liberal Center to assume extra-parliamentary forms of power at times of crisis, thereby creating the kind of power vacuum that invites military interventions.

To the student of nationalism, this book offers an outstanding illustration of the irresistible dynamics of what we might call "national Bonapartism" resolved in a supreme military adventure.

JOHN A. NICOLOPOULOS  
*American University*

## AFRICA

DOUGLAS FRASER and HERBERT M. COLE, editors.  
*African Art & Leadership*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1972. Pp. xvii, 332. \$17.50.

For centuries African rulers have used art to symbolize their power and legitimacy. Regalia

such as swords, stools, statues, crowns, and staffs are essential to the ceremonial life of African courts and serve as reminders of the unique status of the monarch. Royal art may provide a visual link between the dynasty and important myths and religious beliefs, commemorate past glories, or show the king's wealth. Even in stateless societies art objects may indicate rank and prestige.

Although this pioneering book is not primarily directed toward historians, they will find much of interest in its fourteen essays on art associated with leadership in eleven West African and Congolese societies. As the editors make clear in their introduction, the essays focus on the plastic arts to the virtual exclusion of politically significant performing arts.

Daniel Biebuyck (Lega) and Herbert Cole (Ibo) discuss objects associated with secret societies in acephalous groups. Simon Ottenberg's "Humorous Masks and Serious Politics among the Afikpo Ibo" is an analysis of the social and political functions of satirical plays conducted by young masked dancers. Daniel Crowley's essay on Chokwe political art touches on several important issues, including royal patronage of carvers and trends toward secularization. The *ndop* statues of Kuba kings are described by Jan Vansina, who argues that even the oldest *ndop* are originals or faithful copies. Thus the statues illustrate royal dress over three centuries. The changing political uses of sacred masks are discussed in a fascinating article by Leon Siroto on the BaKwile of Congo-Brazzaville.

Many historians will take special interest in René Bravmann's contribution, "The Diffusion of Ashanti Political Art." Bravmann argues that the Ashanti government used presents of regalia as a device to control outer provinces, especially in non-Akan areas. His study of Nafana political art shows that many objects were gifts from Ashanti rulers and can be linked with specific personalities and events. Similar studies elsewhere in the Ashanti hinterland might clarify chronological problems and the extent of Akan cultural influence.

Douglas Fraser's article, "The Fish-Legged Figure in Benin and Yoruba Art," is less satisfactory. He traces representations of men with fish-legs through various periods of European and Asian art and concludes that southern Nigerian carvers were influenced by motifs used in the Eastern Roman Empire before 1000 A.D. Fraser is aware of some of the dangers of diffusionism; he does not postulate wandering Byzantines in Benin. But, despite resemblances



between Yoruba figures and specimens from Afghanistan, I suspect trait-chasing.

Other articles deal with the Cameroons Grasslands (Suzanne Rudy), Baule gold-plated objects (Hans' Himmelheber), Yoruba beaded crowns (Robert Thompson), Kwahu terracottas (Roy Sieber), Ashanti regalia (Douglas Fraser), and Ife sculpture (Frank Willet). The editors' overview examines common features of political art and stresses how little is known about African art history.

*African Art & Leadership* is a commendable attempt to breach disciplinary boundaries and, inevitably, raises more issues than it solves. Why not, for example, something on Dahomey, Ethiopia, or the depiction of Europeans and their artifacts? How can students of history and art collaborate? Numerous black and white pictures make this book as esthetically pleasing as it is intellectually stimulating.

K. DAVID PATTERSON  
University of North Carolina,  
Charlotte

VIRGINIA THOMPSON. *West Africa's Council of the Entente*. (Africa in the Modern World.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1972. Pp. xxiii, 313. \$13.50.

This book belongs to the series *Africa in the Modern World*, edited by the distinguished political scientist, Professor Gwendolen Carter, who points out that English-speaking readers know much less about francophone Africa than about the successor-states of the British Empire, which "present no language barrier" (p. viii). Although English-speaking historians might observe that lack of the conqueror's tongue is not the only linguistic barrier, in practice, despite some distinguished exceptions, they have neglected French-speaking Africa rather more than political scientists and should be grateful that two of the first four volumes of this series focus on these states. (The survivors of the scramble, Liberia and Ethiopia, equally neglected, make up the other two.)

The series supplied Dr. Virginia Thompson with a difficult subject. The Entente's admirers praise its longevity in contrast to more radical regional organizations. But not the least of Dr. Thompson's achievements is to hold the reader's attention while cataloging the many failures to develop joint policies. The price of survival appears to be a lifetime of nonevents.

Dr. Thompson explains the Entente's formation by interweaving episodes from President Houphouët-Boigny's manipulative diplomacy

with the development of Upper Volta, Dahomey, Niger, and Togo. These complicated sequences are handled with authority, but, presumably because the Ivory Coast will have a separate volume, Dr. Thompson does not explore the close connections between Houphouët's domestic and foreign policy in similar depth. As Houphouët "preferred to arbitrate disputes between . . . members on a personal basis rather than to have them settled by the round-table method" (p. 33) concentration on the Entente entails a limiting perspective on Ivory Coast foreign policy.

The overthrow of President Yameogo of Upper Volta merits closer examination for the light thrown on the problems of the Entente's Solidarity Fund. More important, readers will hardly be equipped to understand contemporary African discussion of these states without explicit acquaintance with the views of radical thinkers like Samir Amin and Jean Pierre N'Diaye. The debate between liberals and radicals on neocolonialism is far from academic in the bad sense of that term. Nevertheless, *West Africa's Council of the Entente* exhibits the essential property of success: the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Imperial and postimperial structures do not provide those who write about them, any more than those who live in them, with the ready-made coherence supplied by nation-states. Readers will admire Dr. Thompson's resource in keeping her somewhat amorphous but significant subject in sharp focus.

HENRY S. WILSON  
University of York

A. G. HOPKINS. *An Economic History of West Africa*. (The Columbia Economic History of the Modern World.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 337. \$15.00.

Hopkins presents a masterly synthesis of West African history from early times to independence within an analytic framework derived from economists and economic historians specializing on the "underdeveloped" world. The result is an extremely stimulating and highly readable study, one that incorporates an enormous amount of scholarship and challenges the reader to re-examine his thinking on numerous issues. The introductory chapter, "Approaches to Africa's Economic Past," surveys the conceptual and methodological (and mythological) issues outstanding and introduces "the market" as the key organizing principle, which is conceived in quantitative, spatial, and social-structural terms.

Chapter 2, "The Domestic Economy: Structure and Function," makes admirable utilization of data from anthropologists and geographers combined with comparative economic theory and tools of analysis. Chapter 3, "External Trade: The Sahara and the Atlantic," provides an informed and balanced discussion of both commercial spheres analyzed against a model of international trade, which helps to explain the limited growth of the market in both instances. Chapter 4, "The Economic Basis of Imperialism," examines the changes in import and export structures accompanying the growth of legitimate trade in the nineteenth century and the changes in the terms of trade at the close of the century that intensified European competition for West African markets. Chapter 5, "An Economic Model of Colonialism," delineates the principal structural features of the colonial period and employs quantitative data to chart the development of the colonial economies from 1900 to 1960. Chapters 6 and 7 rework the same time period from different perspectives: "Completing the Open Economy" assesses the respective roles of Africans and expatriates up to around 1930, and "The Open Economy under Strain" covers the years from 1930 to 1960 when extra-African influences increasingly affected economic, social, and political developments in West Africa. Chapter 8 is a four-page coda, a combination summary statement and historian's invocation to his fellows and to policy makers. Each chapter is well organized and argued and marked by fair-minded discussion of controversial theses and opposing viewpoints. The twenty-nine-page select bibliography attests to the author's scholarship and dedication to the Sisyphean task of "keeping current." Seventeen maps and six graphs, together with footnotes printed at the bottom of the page and impeccable copyediting, merit the publishers special acknowledgment. *An Economic History of West Africa* is certain to become recognized as the standard work on the subject, as an indispensable first reader and reference book, and as the point of departure for new scholarship for years to come. It is indeed the pacesetter volume launching the Columbia Economic History of the Modern World series.

GEORGE E. BROOKS  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

NEHEMIA LEVTZION. *Ancient Ghana and Mali*. (Studies in African History, 7.) London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and

Noble, New York. 1973. Pp. x, 283. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$6.50.

For many years Nehemia Levtzion has been studying the ancient empires of Ghana and Mali, basing his work on Arabic and Portuguese works, the chronicles of black Muslim literati, and surviving oral traditions. He has now provided us with the first full-length account of the two states based on research of a consistently high quality. *Ancient Ghana and Mali* is divided into two parts, the first of which describes the rise, expansion, and disintegration of Ghana, followed by the expansion of Mali into the Sahel. In the fifteenth century Mali declined and many of its people, the Malinke, migrated south to the fringes of the forest region. Part 2 is a detailed study of the principal themes of trade, government, and Islam. The importance of the gold trade in the expansion of the Sudan and its relations with North Africa and Europe is rightly stressed. Levtzion builds up a fascinating picture of a sophisticated people with strong cultural traditions, effective governmental systems, and a thriving trade.

The major thrust of Levtzion's research has involved Arabic sources. His account of Mansa Musa's famous pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324, for example, is based largely on Islamic sources. But a tremendous amount of work remains, especially in the areas of oral tradition and archeological field research. Large-scale excavations and settlement pattern studies of ancient Ghanaian and Malian towns and villages are likely to provide valuable insights into the reasons for the rise and decline of both states. The sophisticated systems approaches to problems of state formation now being applied to early Meso-American and Near Eastern civilizations could yield rich dividends in West Africa. Research into the problems of cultural process and the rise of West African states has hardly begun and requires major archeological investigations into early Ghana before its first appearance in al-Fazārī's chronicle in the late eighth century.

*Ancient Ghana and Mali* is essentially a descriptive history compiled by a scholar with a shrewd perception of the uses and limitations of Arab sources. Levtzion's study is an important first step, for it provides a straightforward, closely argued, and well-referenced account of two great African states. But, without question, future research by African scholars is likely to give us a new perception of Ghana and Mali. In the meantime Levtzion has written what is

likely to be the definitive history of Ghana and Mali for some time to come. Fortunately his important study is available in cheap paperback form, so wide dissemination among students is assured. I only regret the lack of illustrations.

BRIAN M. FAGAN  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

FRANÇOIS RENAULT. *Lavigerie, l'esclavage africain et l'Europe, 1868-1892*. Volume 1, *Afrique centrale*; volume 2, *Campagne antiesclavagiste*. (Études historiques sur le Cardinal Lavigerie.) Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1971. Pp. 433; 506. 45 fr. each.

There is something strangely anachronistic about Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie, founder of the White Fathers, archbishop of Algiers, and cardinal of the Church. At about the time when others, including many missionaries, seemed to have a livelier interest in proper drainage than in the Trinity, Lavigerie was dreaming of crusades. There is such a curious time lag in his perceptions of the modern imperial world.

True, he never has received much of a press in the English-speaking regions; their views of him were colored by reports from interested parties in the Scottish churches or with connections to the Imperial British East Africa Company or possibly the consulate in Zanzibar. Whether Renault's massive work provides an antidote is doubtful, for the translation problem remains. Still, this is a colossal two volumes, a compendium nearly nine hundred pages long containing a sixty-eight-page bibliography, some attractive maps, detailed indexes, chapter précis, and the imprimatur of Rome. The title is somewhat misleading for it is not truly a biography, nor is it concerned with those parts of Africa not adjacent to lakes Victoria and Tanganyika, the latter especially. By "slavery" Renault means slavery organized by "Arabs."

Lavigerie unfortunately does not appear in three dimensions. Of course, there may only have been the public man, though this seems unlikely. Still, we are given quite a lot of the official person's life. His aim was clear: the eradication of the East African slave trade. His plan was not complicated, merely impractical, and certainly audacious. Lavigerie proposed to send special religious from Algeria to the lakes region to ransom the likeliest-looking

youths in captivity and send them to some sort of training institute on the Mediterranean (evidently after conversion) where they would be trained in medicine and then returned as missionaries.

At one time he promoted the idea of establishing Christian villages, as had been done in Algeria with some success. The idea was to influence surrounding communities. The cardinal also called for armed volunteers to accompany missionaries to what are parts of today's Uganda, Zaire, and Tanzania. There is no indication that he questioned the value of Europeanization or the benefits of European political aggrandizement. His program, however, called for this to be done under the banner of the Holy See. Throughout he called for European cooperation, but failing that, at least for French and Belgian assistance. He does not seem to have appreciated the extraordinary nationalist sentiments of his age.

English Protestants regarded the cardinal as the late-blooming representative of a heel-dragging and compromised institution. While their specific criticisms usually had to do with the Church's Portuguese connection, they also held that the Church was damaged by its relations with a France insufficiently governed by humane considerations. Lavigerie rather unfairly absorbed a lot of this punishment, and some of his angrier correspondence demonstrates that it hurt. The fact remains that his programs were not new, nor was there any shortage of sensational reporting from the afflicted territories. Most of what he said had been said previously and vigorously by British or British-employed missionaries. Certainly Lavigerie should not be ignored because Livingstone preceded him in the field (literally, as the cardinal was an armchair explorer). But one is left with the impression that until memoranda began circulating through the papal chancery, the cardinal did not accept that anything had been done or that a problem had been defined satisfactorily. Perhaps it was this impression of smug dismissal that put the English off.

Lavigerie first experienced another culture on a trip to Syria in connection with French intervention on behalf of persecuted Christians. This contact with Islam made a great impression and caused him to leave his university post to enter upon a career of active missionizing. With the blessing of French authority he was installed in the archbishopric of Algiers and very soon afterward organized and received papal approval for a new order, the Algerian

Brothers or White Fathers. These received a special mandate for "Central Africa," as the idea of proselytizing in this devastated zone appealed to the Church Militant.

Between 1879 and 1884 Lavigerie dispatched missions to Buganda first and then to various places south of the lake. It cannot be said that they were very successful. In Kampala the situation was impossibly complicated and his men lacked the material backing of their English rivals. Elsewhere they could not dispute the authority exercised by various brigands, some with traditional (or assumed traditional) prestige. Moreover, at least in the English universe, they were accused of surrounding themselves with slaves whose conditions no doubt had improved but whose status had not. Lavigerie indignantly rebutted these charges. There was a vast difference between a ransomed person who showed his gratitude and insecurity by staying in one's service and a bought person who remained of necessity. Besides, the Scottish missionaries in the Shire Highlands did the same thing. The argument was too lawyer-like: your charge is untrue; moreover, it also is your practice.

Those troubles which afflicted the White Fathers also afflicted their competitors. There was a natural tendency to seek the support of sympathetic lay powers, but the peculiar diplomatic position of the Vatican sometimes complicated matters. Thus the ambiguous connection with Leopold, the king of the Belgians, who after the Berlin Conference emerged with a very much strengthened hand. The principal difficulty between the king and the cardinal had to do with the latter's latest call for a united European war against the slavers. Leopold, or more accurately H. M. Stanley, needed the Swahili magnates of the interior. Had the Papal States controlled some force beyond the Swiss Guard, there might not have been quite the same necessity for compromise with secular agencies willing to field a military. As it was, Lavigerie even came up with the idea of a religious armed force, "armed brethren," whose moral code precluded the species of conduct alas too common among lay volunteers, who mostly were rejects from various European armies.

His weird proposal came too late to constitute a chapter in this bizarre period of Central African history. Cardinal and Church alike were overtaken by worldly events, for by 1891 both Germans and Belgians had commenced serious action, though for different reasons. Absurd as it might seem now, the placement

of gunboats on the lower tier of lakes irrevocably altered the political situation, and this without benefit of clergy.

The situation became Algerian. The Church would henceforth operate through those European governments that laid effective claim to Central Africa, and men such as Cardinal Lavigerie would become absorbed in the routine of missionizing in colonial circumstances. Renault's judgment may be correct. Though all this comprised a very modest undertaking despite the accompanying rhetoric, it began a dialogue across cultures. Lavigerie aroused Europeans, though very late in the game, somewhat as Livingstone had done earlier in the British Isles. There is, finally, something fascinating about a man with an *idée fixe*. The main problem with Lavigerie is that he resembled the man who independently invented some useful item after it already had gone into general use. The motive and passion were there but the situation had changed, as had the other players.

J. R. HOOKER

*Michigan State University*

VICTOR T. LE VINE. *The Cameroon Federal Republic*. (Africa in the Modern World.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1971. Pp. xxiii, 205. Cloth \$8.50, paper \$2.45.

In 1964 Victor T. Le Vine published *The Cameroons from Mandate to Independence*; writing from the perspective of a political scientist, Le Vine made skillful use of recent anthropological and historical research about Cameroon, and the resultant volume was one of the best studies of a single African state published by an American university press in its decade. The present work is largely an updating of Le Vine's earlier book, which has both advantages and disadvantages. It is a compact, factual, and tightly written survey of the recent political history of Cameroon. All of the important names, dates, and events of the recent past are there in digest form. The narrative sections succinctly and completely identify such topics of continuing importance as the geographic differences between Cameroon's dry, flat north and its rain-forest south, between its English-speaking western section and its larger francophone east. It clearly treats the rise of political parties in Cameroon from more than 125 at one time in the 1940s to their consolidation into the single Union Camerounaise party.

The book traces, in outline form, the rise of Ahmadou Ahidjo, the president of Cameroon,



from obscurity in the northern town of Garoua to leadership of one of West Africa's most economically and politically viable countries. Still, in some ways, Ahidjou remains as much an enigma at the book's end as at its beginning. He deserves much fuller biographic treatment. It is regrettable that, although the author devotes major sections to the rise of nationalism and to social questions, the book makes no use of the fictional work of a succession of Cameroon's writers from Mongo Beti to Francois Beybe, whose novels and short stories vividly display the problems of urbanization, economics, and generational differences. It is unfortunate that the book went to press shortly before Cameroon became a unitary state in 1972. This will require some revision, but not much, for Le Vine's assessment of Cameroonian politics is solid, carefully grounded in an easy familiarity with the range of written sources on Cameroon and a personal knowledge of many of the participants in its recent history. What the book sets out to do it does very well. It is a timely, concise history of this complex, stable, and much-ignored African state.

FREDERICK QUINN  
West Redding, Connecticut

MARCIA WRIGHT. *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1897-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Oxford University Press, 1971. Pp. xiv, 249. \$10.50.

Mission history in Africa has experienced something of a revival during the past decade owing primarily to its growing integration with major currents of African and colonial history generally. Professor Wright's book touches on several themes of this scholarly discussion as she focuses on two German mission societies operating in southern Tanganyika. This is in itself an important contribution since little on the German missionary enterprise has been published in English.

One of these themes concerns the politics of mission expansion before and during the era of conquest. It is in chapters 3 and 4 that we are shown most clearly the interaction of African societies with the German missionaries as Wright relates the expansion of the Berlin and Moravian missions to the complex political situation in the southern highlands. A second theme involves the relationship of German missionaries to the colonial government. Unlike neighboring Kenya where early mission-govern-

ment cooperation partially gave way as the implications of a settler economy became clear, Wright argues that German missionaries from the very beginning engaged in a virtual *Kulturkampf* with local administrators primarily over the government's "reliance on alien elites" for administrative purposes. This early antagonism represents the unique feature of the mission situation in southern Tanganyika. A third emphasis of the current literature involves a new concern for the "orthodox" mission communities and churches as significant social groups in colonial society rather than an exclusive focus on independent churches. Wright contributes to redressing this imbalance by showing how the contrasting styles of the Moravians and Lutherans issued in very different mission communities.

The major weakness of the book grows out of the nature of its sources. Wright's almost exclusive reliance on European documentary sources prevents her from getting really "inside" these emergent communities to the same extent as John Rennie's recent dissertation on American missions among the Ndau of Rhodesia or David Sandgren's forthcoming thesis on the American Inland Mission (AIM) in Kikuyuland, both of which draw heavily on oral material. The sources perhaps also dictated a decreasing emphasis in later chapters on the African side of the story, for as missionaries became enmeshed in their own institutions and those of the colonial government, they doubtless became less interested in what was going on around them. Thus the theme of cultural encounter tends to get lost. This is unfortunate since the most recent thrust of mission history involves the interaction of Christianity and African religious systems, a theme only lightly touched upon in this book.

Despite these reservations, Wright's book clearly represents a solid contribution to the political and social history of southern Tanganyika and a most welcome addition to the literature of comparative mission history.

ROBERT W. STRAYER  
State University of New York,  
College at Brockport

SAMUEL G. AYANY. *A History of Zanzibar: A Study in Constitutional Development, 1934-1964*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1970. Pp. vi, 208. \$7.00.

The fertile, clove-growing islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, both part of the British Protec-



torate of Zanzibar since 1890, through their African, Arab, and Indian inhabitants played a vital role during the nineteenth century in opening the East African interior to the outside world. During these years the islands were ruled by an Arab dynasty originating from Oman that continued to preside without executive power over the islands' affairs after the British take-over of 1890. Buttressed by British policies that favored the Arabs over the Africans (both indigenous inhabitants and immigrants from the nearby African continent), the Zanzibar Protectorate remained an Arab-dominated state until a bloody revolution of 1964 firmly secured power in African hands. Ayany purports to study Zanzibar's constitutional development from 1934 to 1964 in this volume, which grew from an M.A. thesis he completed in 1963. When the thesis was undertaken there existed no adequate account of the events of this thirty-year period, and Ayany's research might have been of some real value. Even then, however, there were serious flaws. The historical introduction, for example, includes many errors of detail and interpretation for the early period of Zanzibar's history, including the long-rejected assumption that there was a "Zenj Empire" in East Africa in the period before 1500.

When Ayany reaches the 1930s the quality of his analysis improves. He uses a good range of sources, including many of the published government reports, to portray events in Zanzibar, but the details of this section no longer require detailed criticism. It is unfortunate for the author that a far more critical account of events leading to Zanzibar's independence and the 1964 revolution appeared in 1965 when Michael Lofchie's *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution* was published by the Princeton University Press. Lofchie, utilizing a broad range of written and oral sources, provided a very critical and highly readable account of the intricate political events that culminated in 1964. The publication of Lofchie's book made the appearance of Ayany's volume of little value, especially since Ayany apparently decided to let his materials for the years up to 1963—the date of his thesis—stand without any significant inclusion of Lofchie's analysis. It is only in recounting the events since 1963 that Lofchie's materials are given any real use, and even in this section they are not handled with any critical sophistication. Thus readers interested in the recent past of Zanzibar and Pemba are best advised to forget about Ayany and in-

stead turn to the volume and several articles of Lofchie.

NORMAN ROBERT BENNETT  
Boston University

PETER M. GUKIINA. *Uganda: A Case Study in African Political Development*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 190. Cloth \$7.95, paper \$3.25.

A historian's reaction to Mr. Gukiina's study of political evolution in Uganda from precolonial times to the downfall of the Obote government in 1971 can only be mixed. On the one hand Gukiina has produced an adequate and readable survey of the most significant political events that marked Uganda's transition from colonial status through the first decade of independence. On the other hand the work is marred by some important factual errors and by some serious historical misinterpretations.

In addition to errors already noted in an earlier review by Dean E. McHenry, Jr. (*African Studies Review*, 16 [1973]: 146-48), Gukiina provides a good bit of additional misinformation. Concerning the peoples of Karamoja (the Ugandans whom I know best), for example, he states that they are "Hamites" (a linguistic classification that never existed), that they do not farm (in fact, their economy is a balanced one in which agriculture and pastoralism are of about equal importance), and that their age system includes circumcision (a ritual that in fact they abhor).

Of even greater concern to the historian is Gukiina's thesis concerning the exclusiveness and the implied sociopolitical stagnation of precolonial Uganda societies (see, for example, pp. 14, 39, and 65-66). In developing this thesis he completely ignores the very clear indications, meticulously gathered by oral and archival historians over the past two decades, that some of the key features of traditional East African societies were their dynamic political, social, and economic evolutions, based in large part on close interaction between neighboring peoples.

Moreover, while in some place Gukiina, himself a Ugandan, with full justification attacks and tears down some of the stereotypes and misconceptions built up about Uganda by non-African observers, he nevertheless in other places commits precisely the same type of errors. Thus, he stereotypes the Karimojong as taciturn and silent (p. 28), in effect perpetuates the myth of "ancient tribal rivalries" (pp. 55 and 93), and brands the Uganda peasants of the late 1960s

as not "*capable* of understanding the economic world" (the italics are mine).

His treatment of the Amin coup of 1971 seems at best naive and misinformed. For instance, as a resident of northern Uganda at the time of the coup, I can assure Mr. Gukiina that the "instantaneous public jubilation" he claims was "nationwide" with the military take-over was most certainly not found throughout the north.

Perhaps some of the most successful parts of the book were those in which the author drew on his personal experiences. If he had drawn more on such personal information (and augmented it perhaps with oral evidence gathered from acquaintances and kinsmen), and somewhat less on certain of the published sources upon which he so heavily relied, the book might have been much more successful.

Nevertheless, the book as it stands could be used judiciously in secondary and undergraduate classrooms, as it provides a rather different and in some ways admirable approach to Uganda political development.

J. E. LAMPHEAR  
DePauw University

ROBERT C. GOOD. *U.D.I.: The International Politics of the Rhodesian Rebellion*. [Princeton:] Princeton University Press, 1973. Pp. 368. \$12.50.

Robert C. Good, an American scholar, served as United States ambassador to Zambia during the Rhodesian crisis. His study reflects his official experience. It is also a book with a purpose. The writer asserts that Americans cannot, and indeed ought not, stand aloof from the Rhodesian tragedy. He argues that "it is inconceivable that two great racial revolutions (in America and South Africa) can climax at roughly the same point in history without finally each affecting, exciting, and probably aggravating the other." In order to reach this conclusion most directly the author, in his own words, has "reduced to a minimum the conceptual baggage usually associated with scholarly ventures." He has provided a "scholarly memoir or analytical journalism" to provide guidance for his countrymen on a critical issue.

Good's version of modern Rhodesian history fits into a wider framework of ideas. His study closely follows the interpretation of contemporary events in Central Africa put forward by British prestige journals such the *Guardian* or the *Economist*. These organs have always disliked the Rhodesian Front and its supporters, not merely for their politics but also for social

reasons. The Rhodesian Front was created, in the author's words, by an "amalgamation of conservatives, dissidents and eccentrics." It represents a coalition of white workers, managers, farmers, and the like, the kind of people whom many British academics and journalists dislike on cultural and esthetic, as well as political, grounds. When the Rhodesian Front issued its Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), the British prestige press, and also many academicians concerned with the area, assumed that UDI would be a nine-day wonder. The Front repudiated the older white upper-class establishment in Rhodesia, together with its British connections. The new rulers rejected the time-honored symbolism of Union Jack and royalty. They ran up a flag of their own, incorporating the Rhodesian rugby colors instead of the accustomed red, white, and blue. They established a dissident republic, fully convinced that success would be theirs. To British critics, however, it seemed inconceivable that Smith's "Cowboy Cabinet," backed supposedly by hardhats and hayseeds, should successfully defy—even if only for a short space of time—both the inevitable tide of history and the good opinion of their betters.

Good dislikes the Rhodesian Front for reasons similar to those advanced by the British prestige press. His book also follows what might be called the abolitionist tradition in American historiography. As he sees it, the Rhodesian imbroglio has some aspects of a morality play. It starts as a "madcap adventure, yet with frightening overtones," which are provoked by the overweening ambitions of a small European minority. This community is reactionary to the core, devoid of historical perspective, and even of common sense. White Rhodesians, for the time being, manage to cling to a luxurious existence, supposedly characterized by easy living, a high level of conspicuous consumption, and an unnaturally low cost of living. The future of this "three-servant, two-car, one-swimming pool society" depends on the availability of "cheap labor and liquid assets within the country." But, Good argues, the day of reckoning will come. Given time, black revolutionaries will crush the white oppressors.

The African rebels' task will at least be made easier by a policy of continuing international economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Even at their present level of relative ineffectiveness "the policy of making Rhodesia an international pariah curtails the flow of white immigration into the country, encourages the drain of white young people from the country, and denies

Rhodesia access to major money markets, thus thwarting economic growth, hastening the run-down of the infrastructure, while increasing the cost to South Africa of sustaining its awkward and embarrassing northern neighbour."

This analysis essentially conforms also to the United States Department of State thinking, expressed in such pamphlets as *Southern Rhodesia: The Question of Economic Sanctions* (Department of State Publication 8744, December, 1973). It is effectively presented, and the writer is experienced in setting out alternative options. But Good's account suffers from a distinct weakness; like so many other investigators, he does not make a sufficiently dispassionate analysis of the Rhodesian power structure and its dynamics. Despite what Good and many others would like to see, too much remains to be explained. The writer thus fails to show why a small white community, so insignificant in numbers and so contemptible in attainments, should have been able to defy the prophets for so long and cling to power against such widespread opposition. The Rhodesian Front, in fact, differs considerably from the stereotype presented by Good. It has now run Rhodesia for about twelve years. "White Rhodesia" remains beset by serious internal weaknesses. But Good does not really bring these out, any more than its strengths. Despite the forecasts of so many experts, the Front, according to its own terms of reference, has after all been surprisingly successful up to the present. The Rhodesian economy first recovered from the depression associated with the breakup of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. From then onward, the economy has continued to grow, although at a much slower pace than during the halcyon days of federation. Rhodesia's rate of inflation has been kept to a minimum. Rhodesian factories have both expanded and diversified their production. Despite the loss of many foreign markets for Rhodesian tobacco, its former staple crop, the white farming industry has not collapsed. Rhodesian farmers instead have managed to readjust to a changing situation and considerably to increase their food production. Social services have continued to operate. The incumbent regime, for the time being, has maintained effective political and military control over the territory. Up to the present, guerrilla incursions have as yet failed in their declared objective of disrupting the state machinery, breaking white morale, and bringing about an economic collapse. Salisbury remains physically safer than an American city of similar size. And, despite almost apocalyptic prophecies of an impending bloodbath

south of the Zambezi, the amount of bloodshed in Rhodesia has, up to now, been much less than the civil violence experienced in countries such as Nigeria, the Sudan, or Burundi, all of which, according to the experts of the late colonial era, had embarked upon independence under much more favorable auspices than Rhodesia's.

Economists, political scientists, and historians alike will of course differ widely in their respective analysis of the Rhodesian phenomenon. But whatever their political or moral assumptions may be, they will have to improve on Good's analysis by taking "white Rhodesia" seriously as a legitimate subject of academic concern.

L. H. GANN

Stanford University

RICHARD GIBSON. *African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles against White Minority Rule*. New York: Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Race Relations, London, 1972. Pp. x, 350. \$8.50.

Like other contemporary analyses of Southern Africa, Richard Gibson's wide-ranging study of the African revolutionary groups that have been fighting against colonial and white minority regimes has been overtaken by events. Guinea-Bissau is already independent under PAIGC control, and FRELIMO will form the government when Mozambique becomes independent next June. Events in huge and potentially wealthy Angola are less easy to prophesy since the three separate liberation movements—FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA—are still hostile to each other, but the Portuguese remain determined to provide that country also with independence. Thus the strategic configuration existing at the time Gibson's book was published has changed radically. There are now new factors and forces impinging on Rhodesia, Namibia, and the powerhouse of white domination, South Africa.

Gibson's book remains a handy reference for the liberation groups that have achieved political power, are about to, or are still seeking to do so. The author, a black American journalist for Negro Press International, has had long experience in Africa, and he does not hesitate to point out reasons for earlier failures as well as achievements. He is clearly biased, however, in favor of those groups favored by the Chinese Communists. He also underplays the influence of the Sino-Soviet split in intensifying the rivalries between the liberation groups from every

Southern African country, except Mozambique, that vie with each other for both internal and external support.

While at the time that Gibson prepared his book it was understandable that the struggles of liberation movements were the focus of attention, present circumstances indicate that liberation for Southern Africa must be evaluated in new terms. For some groups the immediate objective remains to unseat existing minority regimes. Increasingly, however, the primary need is to build popular support among settled African or multiracial populations for the African leaders and movements that are assuming, or are about to assume, control. Associated with this effort is the need to build viable economies. Independence for Mozambique, for example, is only the first step toward freeing that country from the pervasive economic dependence on South Africa that affects all the territories of Southern Africa except Zambia and Angola. Henceforth, the more subtle features of Southern African relations will increasingly determine the character of that area.

GWENDOLEN M. CARTER  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

ERIC AXELSON, *Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600*. [Cape Town:] C. Struik, for the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. 1973. Pp. xii, 276. \$11.60.

The King George V Professor of History at the University of Cape Town began his detailed archival research in Europe in 1935 and is thoroughly familiar with the archives and libraries of Continental Portugal and the archives of Portuguese India. Among his carefully documented studies are *South-East Africa 1488-1530* (1940), *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1600-1700* (1960), *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa 1875-1891* (1967), and *Congo to Cape: Early Portuguese Explorers* (1973). The book under review represents a rewriting, updating, and extension of the 1940 volume in the light of more recent researches conducted under the auspices of the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies.

This study, which includes excellent maps, narrates in minute detail the story of Portuguese activity from the Cape of Good Hope to Mozambique Island and beyond, including Kilwa, Mombasa, Malindi, and even Cape Guardafui. It begins with Bartolomeu Dias's arrival in southeast Africa and ends with the

establishment of the English East India Company and the concomitant influx of foreign shipping to the Indian Ocean. It concentrates on Sofala and Mozambique Island. Two chapters treat southeast Africa in its relationship to the sea route to India, for, as the author is frank to admit (p. 198), the Portuguese added to Europe's knowledge of southeast Africa incidentally to increasing their knowledge of the route to India, or, as he puts it, "the importance of south-east Africa to the Portuguese lay not so much in trade as in the mere fact that it flanked a vital and often critical sector of the sea-route to India" (p. 105). Of particular interest to students of literary history are the documented analyses of the famous shipwrecks that figure in the *História Trágico-Marítima*: of *São João* (1552), *São Bento* (1554), *Santiago* (1585), *São Tomé* (1589), and *Santo Alberto* (1593).

The Portuguese genre known as the *relação de naufrágio* presented these and other wrecks with moralizing overtones. Not so Professor Axelsson, whose book is straightforward and factual. Reading it in a year of crisis for the Portuguese colonies in Africa, one begins by looking for "relevant" comments, philosophical and political asides that might explain events of the 1960s and 1970s. Suddenly one realizes that no such editorializing is needed, for the *verdade nua e pura* explains everything. The author adopts none of the rhetoric of Portuguese historiography, no glorification, no praise, just the plain unvarnished truth. Thus he bluntly points out (p. 131) that certain regulations "confirm that Portugal held Sofala for one purpose and one purpose only: for trade and material profit" and in a footnote at that point contrasts his own affirmation with brief discussion of the distinguished Portuguese historian Alexandre Lobato on whose researches he draws very heavily: "Dr Lobato, however, quotes the *regimento* as proof of the constancy through the centuries of Portuguese moral principles, based on humanity and justice . . . and he concludes . . . that the fundamental economic purpose did not militate against establishing a policy for the indigenous inhabitants that was truly humane and Christian, based on social justice, with the final aim of integrating those negroes who accepted religious conversion into Portuguese citizens."

Professor Axelsson writes most competently of winds, currents, position finding, and appropriate sailing seasons. He would have favored landlubber readers had he outlined an important aspect of the monsoons between the west



coast of India and southeast Africa. In those days there were no protected ports along the Indian coast, only open roadsteads. During the period of the southwest monsoon, which blows from Africa to India between May and October, sailing vessels may cross to India but once there they are unable to discharge passengers or cargo, as I can attest from visits to Cannanore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, and Quilon in the months of June, July, and August.

It was in order to be able to land in India that the Portuguese departed Africa at the tail end of the otherwise favorable southwest monsoon, that is, in September or early October. To use an example given by Axelson (p. 202), Diogo Botelho Pereira departed Lisbon March 23, 1550, arrived at Mozambique Island August 18, and reached India October 20. He departed Cochin January 18, 1551, rounded the Cape of Good Hope April 7, and reached the Azores July 14.

FRANCIS M. ROGERS  
Harvard University

EDWARD C. TABLER. *Pioneers of South West Africa and Ngamiland, 1738-1880*. (South African Biographical and Historical Studies, 19.) Cape Town: A. A. Balkema. 1973. Pp. ix, 142. \$10.25.

As in his *Pioneers of Rhodesia* (Cape Town, 1966), Edward C. Tabler has attempted in this book to provide a comprehensive biographical dictionary of mainly Europeans who served as explorers, traders, hunters, and missionaries in the regions north of the republic of South Africa. Concentrating upon what is today Namibia and western Botswana, Tabler places only one significant limitation upon his study—he does not describe, even in a collective form, the African migrations into the region before 1738, and he stops his work in the 1880s and therefore does not include the Germans and others who were to claim and rule much of the area.

The lack of any exclusive standard of selectivity for entries in the volume means the devotion of space to short and inconsequential information on many insignificant persons in his "A to Z" presentation. These listings detract from his more substantial commentary and fresh information on persons who played an active role in the region's history. Perhaps, had the author grouped his entries by occupation or interests, he would have been able to provide an introductory text, develop more fully his treatment of the important but lesser-known persons, and relegate the insignificant to an anno-

tated list at the end of each section. The volume would have benefited, too, from the inclusion of at least some detailed maps or charts of the region in the nineteenth century that cannot be easily found elsewhere.

However, as with his work on Rhodesia, Tabler's references to both primary and secondary sources containing additional information on persons included in his study and his cross-references and glossary give the volume importance as a valuable if limited tool for the researcher.

LESLIE CLEMENT DULY  
University of Nebraska,  
Lincoln

PETER WALSH. *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. xvi, 480. \$13.50.

MONICA WILSON and LEONARD THOMPSON, editors. *The Oxford History of South Africa*. Volume 2, *South Africa, 1870-1966*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. ix, 584. \$8.00.

In the past decade historians of South Africa have, however belatedly, begun to emphasize the role of Africans in South African history. This movement is still in a transitional phase. These two early examples were undertaken in the mid-1960s and are characteristic of liberal South African interests and attitudes at that time.

Walshe's appropriately subtitled book presents an analytical and descriptive study of the development of the African National Congress (ANC). It is divided into three chronological sections: from the beginnings of the ANC to 1924, from 1924 to 1939, and from 1939 to 1952. Within these time periods there are topical chapters that deal with the political activities of the ANC, with ideological and socio-economic influences on its development, and—perhaps most original and most valuable—with its organization and administration. Walshe takes the conventional mid-1960s position that African nationalism in South Africa was primarily a response to such Western influences as Christianity, European education, economic interdependence, and black American religious and political movements—and that these influences explain in large part its early moderate and nonracialist stance. He restores the significance of A. B. Xuma (president, 1940-49) to the rebuilding of the ANC after 1936. Throughout the author examines the basic ANC di-



lemma: whether to work for practical but minor gains within a system that was in principle unacceptable to it, or whether to stand or fall on the issue of the principle itself. The entire work is buttressed by an extensive bibliography, particularly enterprising in its use of ephemeral political documents and manuscript sources.

*The Oxford History of South Africa*, volume 2, like its predecessor (1969), is an interdisciplinary history deliberately emphasizing "interaction" between different races and groups in South Africa. Its ten chapters are written by eight liberal, white authors. Four survey chapters at the beginning are devoted to separate themes for the entire period, 1870-1966: the South African economy (by the economist, D. Hobart Houghton), African "peasant" society (by the anthropologist, Monica Wilson), agriculture (by the economist, Francis Wilson), and urban development (by the political scientist, David Welsh). The last three of these constitute the most original chapters of the book, both in conception and in execution—solid attempts at interdisciplinary history. Following these chapters are three by Leonard Thompson (the sole historian) on the acquisition after 1870 of the remaining unoccupied African territories, the British subjugation of the Afrikaners by 1900, and the formation of the Union. The final three chapters deal with the post-1910 period in a selective way: the development of Afrikaner nationalism (by the former journalist, René de Villiers); the development of African nationalism (by the sociologist, Leo Kuper); and South Africa's international relations (by the political scientist, Jack Spence).

Although they contain enormous amounts of detail, both books suffer from a topical structure that tends to chop up chronological continuity, scatter the discussion of some events through several chapters, and omit significant material without a compensatory analytical coherence. Both books rely almost entirely on written sources, although Walshe in particular has an ideal subject for the extensive use of oral evidence. Both books are, as well, totally committed to the liberal, integrationist view that political separation is ultimately incompatible with economic interdependence. This commitment creates difficulties for the *Oxford History*. It conflicts with a contrary thematic emphasis on African and Afrikaner nationalism: the result is that while there is little material on moderate, English-speaking South Africans, African and Afrikaner movements that do not express an explicitly integrationist ethic (such as the Pan-Africanist Congress) are didactically

criticized. At the same time the authors do not directly confront the more radical contention that segregated, migratory labor may not only be compatible with economic interdependence but may in fact be a necessary component for a particular kind of capitalist machine. Nonetheless, despite their perhaps inevitable limitations, both of these works are significant historical landmarks. Despite the liberal orthodoxy of their positions, the interpretive debate they are part of is a complex, and in some respects an old one that is by no means over. And the new subject matter they consider, the new sources they have uncovered, and the new materials they present are indispensable to anyone concerned with modern South African history.

HARRISON M. WRIGHT  
Swarthmore College

#### ASIA AND THE EAST

KENNETH K. S. CH'EN. *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 345. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$9.50.

While Europe was being conquered by Christianity and, repudiating the worldly materialism of the Roman Empire, was entering the great Age of Faith that we know as the Middle Ages, China was undergoing a strikingly parallel religious experience. The internal collapse of China was not as complete as that of Rome nor was the success of the foreign religion in China as sweeping as that of Christianity in Europe. Nevertheless the similarities and differences between the two phenomena, occurring simultaneously at opposite ends of Eurasia, offer a highly interesting field for comparative historical study.

Kenneth Ch'en's book provides a good introduction to the Chinese side of the question. After a short chapter that sets forth in more detail the problem already announced in the title—how the foreign religion was adapted to and eventually absorbed into the already fully formed civilization of China—come five further chapters dealing with the Buddhist impact in the fields of ethics, politics, economics, literature, and, finally, education and social life.

It was on the ethical plane that Buddhism offered the greatest challenge to traditional Chinese ways and met the fiercest resistance. The claim of the Buddhist monk to have abandoned the world and to be no longer bound by the ties of family relationship or the duties

of a subject to his ruler was deeply shocking to the Confucian world view, with its emphasis on filial piety and the cosmic role of the emperor as Son of Heaven. The early Buddhists in China found themselves in a running battle to justify their pretensions and were constrained to emphasize points where Buddhist ethics were closest to Chinese traditions. At certain moments pious emperors might concede almost all of the Buddhists' claims but, as Ch'en shows, in the long run the power of the Chinese state reasserted itself and the Buddhist church, instead of existing, as it claimed, as a separate body outside secular society, became a closely controlled and regulated institution within it.

The political role of Buddhism was comparatively small since Confucianism remained at all times the basic ideology of the Chinese state and Confucian education provided the chief road to public office. On the other hand the Buddhist church had profound economic effects at all levels of Chinese society. Buddhist monasteries became large and privileged land owners, they managed industrial enterprises such as water mills and oil presses, they engaged in moneylending and pawnbroking, thus contributing to the development of banking and credit institutions.

To illustrate the deep influence of Buddhism on literature Dr. Ch'en takes the poet Po Chü-i, already fairly well known to the English reading public through the work of Arthur Waley, as a representative figure. Po's lay Buddhism, which he combined, as a government official, with an allegiance to Confucianism and with a strong personal interest in Taoist practices, provides an excellent example of the tolerant, eclectic spirit that was typical among Chinese intellectuals.

Finally, in the last chapter, we get some glimpses of how Buddhism penetrated into the life of ordinary people through its festivals, its public preaching, its charitable activities, and in many other ways.

There are particular points on which one could question the author's interpretation and places at which one could wish for a sharper analysis, but, on the whole, this is a well-written and scholarly treatment of an important subject that one hopes will be read by general historians as well as specialists on China.

E. C. PULLEYBLANK  
*University of British Columbia*

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT and DENIS TWITCHETT, editors.  
*Perspectives on the T'ang*. New Haven: Yale

University Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 458, 1 map. \$15.00.

This impressive volume contains eleven papers presented at the first research conference on T'ang studies ever held in the West. The authors are specialists in this celebrated period (618-906) of Chinese history: Ikeda On of Japan writes on "T'ang Household Registers and Related Documents" and Wang Gung-wu of Malaysia and China (teaching in Australia) on "The Middle Yangtse in T'ang Politics." The other contributors are from England or America: Denis Twitchett writes on "The Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class: New Evidence from Tunhuang," Howard J. Wechsler on "Factionalism in Early T'ang Government," Charles A. Peterson on "The Restoration Completed: Emperor Hsien-tsung and the Provinces," Arthur F. Wright on "T'ang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism," Stanley Weinstein on "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism," David McMullen on "Historical and Literary Theory in the Mid-Eighth Century," Hans H. Frankel on "The Contemplation of the Past in T'ang Poetry," Elling O. Eide "On Li Po," and David Lattimore on "Allusion and T'ang Poetry." As might be expected, these studies illuminate this glorious era of imperial China.

The lengthy introduction (pp. 1-43), prepared by the two veteran editors, Professors Wright and Twitchett, is scholarly, balanced, lucid, and incisive. Their sections on the political and cultural background, the perspective of thought and religion, and the survey of institutions are outstanding and should be read by all students of T'ang history. The reign-by-reign survey in the first section (including also the preceding Sui dynasty, 581-618) may appear old-fashioned. Such treatment is nevertheless justifiable and proves helpful for an understanding of the papers. After all, a weak or strong emperor makes a considerable difference. Even powerful Buddhism relied on imperial patronage and suffered badly from persecution in the mid-ninth century.

The introductory section on poetry is less satisfactory. Interaction between poetry and society is discussed only inadequately. No mention is made of the relationship between poetry and the examination system. Traditional Chinese scholars divide T'ang poetry into four periods instead of five as given on page 41. The four periods are Early T'ang (618-712), Flourishing T'ang (713-65), Mid-T'ang (766-

835), and Late T'ang (836-906). This scheme, although criticized by Hu Shih and Lu K'ang-ju, who consider the An Lu-shan uprising in the mid-eighth century as a landmark, is still followed by many modern specialists, including Liu Ta-chieh, Liu Wu-chi, and Yu Kuo-en. The same scheme is also used by art historians in China and Japan in their discussions of T'ang ceramics and T'ang painting. As for poetry as historical material, the poet Li Po wrote that he would pay a thousand pieces of gold for his favorite drink. He probably would protest, however, the injustice done to him by the editors' expression "for a cup of rare wine" (p. 33), unless the cup were constantly refilled. Economic historians have found more realistic prices of wine elsewhere in T'ang poetry.

The papers in general are distinguished by substantial documentation and sophisticated interpretation, although some unfortunate slips in philology may be noted. In the translation of a poem on page 349, allusions to two eminent Chinese of the Han period have been overlooked. As a result the official title Kuang-lu or Kuang-lu Hsün becomes "splendid," and a particular general, "generals." The name of the Nan-T'ang ruler was Li Pien, not Li Sheng as given on page 231. This name has acquired new significance because the royal tombs of Li Pien and his successor Li Ching were excavated in 1950-51 and the remarkable findings from the site published in 1957.

Altogether, this valuable volume marks a long stride made in T'ang studies in the West. It is gratifying to note that younger American scholars are making their share of the contribution, as illustrated by the excellent papers by Eide, Peterson, and Weinstein. Students in the field will appreciate not only the papers and the introduction but also the bibliographical notes, maps, and glossary-index.

LIEN-SHENG YANG  
Harvard University

JOSEPH NEEDHAM, with the collaboration of WANG LING and LU GWEDJEN. *Science and Civilisation in China. Volume 4, Physics and Physical Technology. Part 3, Civil Engineering and Nautics.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. lvii, 931. \$55.00.

This book by Professor Joseph Needham is surely an outstanding work, one that will bring the author an eminent reputation in the field of the history of sciences. In it the author gives

much important information and discusses civil engineering and nautical technology.

The first part of this volume is a description of the roads, walls, buildings, bridges, and canals, together with the systems of irrigation, hydraulic engineering, and water conservation. The second part deals with sailing craft, the technical development of the ship both in time of peace and war, and some information on sea routes of ancient Chinese sailors. The author not only depicts Chinese techniques in the greatest detail ever presented in the Western world, but he also gives more exact identification of Chinese civil engineering with English technical terms, especially for Chinese buildings constructed under systems extremely different from those of the West. The viewpoint of this book goes a long way toward helping Westerners, as well as Chinese students with modern training, to better understand ancient Chinese architecture.

Among the valuable information in this book are several points that impressed me. Since some problems might be solved with further discussion, they are pointed out separately. The design of a house, with its many steps of development, should be traced to the single tent. The reconstruction of the ruin of Hsiao-tun before the tenth century B.C., discussed by Mr. Shih Chang-ju, should be considered as the basic pattern of the Chinese house, which is related to both the *Book of Rites (I-li)* and the later development, from the design of the imperial palaces (and Buddhist or Taoist temples) to the typical ground plans of the house of the common people. The steps of the development of the ground plan are: first, a hall with two main front pillars and a left wing; second, a hall with left and right wings; third, for a palace, the wings developed independently into three halls in one line (compare Liu Tun-chien, *Tung-hsi-tang K'ao*), and for a common house, both of the wings led into the side rooms (so-called *Hsiang-fang*); fourth, opposite the hall there might be the main gate with two side rooms, but for a common house it becomes a row of three rooms, and the main gate moves to the right side by the row. This is the typical pattern of *Ssu-ho Yuan* or the compound.

Needham is very enthusiastic in tracing the tradition of the Chinese house system to the classics of rites. It is a rather hard task, however, because very few scientific studies could be found in this field. *San-li-tu* by Nieh Chung-I of the Sung dynasty is simply a collection of constructions. During the Ch'ing dynasty all of the scholars without exception followed

Nieh's assumption, including Jen Chi-yun, whose work is mentioned by the author.

The only article with an entirely different method is Kan Lao's "Li-ching Chih-tu Yu Hantai Kung-shih" ("The System in Classics of Rites and the Relation to the Buildings of the Han Period," in the special issue of *Kuo-hsueh Chi K'an*, Peking University, 1939), which is based on the actual relics and which has a ground plan that is totally different from the traditional view of N'ieh Chung-I. It is unfortunate that it was not seen by Needham because of the limits on its circulation during the Sino-Japanese War.

Another point that impressed me, which was noted by Needham, is that a town or a city, other than a Chinese village growing from unofficial administration, was established for political purposes. In Chinese history there was no distinction between a castle and a town because the towns or cities were not creations of burghers and never achieved any degree of autonomy with regard to the state. Furthermore, the author adopted a typical city plan by E. A. Gutkind, which is a square inside the city wall with crossed streets and a drum tower at the center. All of these are true, but I would like to suggest two points for discussion. Since the development of the Chinese city is very complex, the best way to manage the study is by tracing and analyzing its history.

The historical development before unification, which came during the Ch'in Empire, was a sequence of progress from tribal administration, city-states, and kingdoms to empire. In ancient China the Chou dynasty was not truly feudal, and in the later Chin dynasty (300-420 A.D.), feudalism was incomplete. In the former there were no burghers, and in the latter there were castles (so-called *wu* or *pao*) with burghers, but they were all wiped out by imperial power very soon. In *Han Kuan I* the author Ying Shao of the Later Han period indicated that the assistants of a magistrate might be compared with ministers of a ruler in the ancient state. It means that the *hsien* (district) was transferred from the city-state. Of course the city of a *hsien* was adopted from the mode of a city-state. *Ya-men* was certainly derived from the palace of a former lord. According to *Chou-li* the palace was located at the southern part of the capital. It may be compared with the *Ya-men*, which was always situated at the south of a city. The drum tower could only be traced back to the main beacon tower of the Han dynasty. (According to Han wooden slips, the drum was used in the beacon tower.)

Note A on page 73 is based on the late E. A. Gutkind's work in which he considered that Chinese cities were square or rectangular rather than circular, round, or irregular because in former times Chinese cities were designed with the belief of the ancient "squared earth" theory. I do not think it is a uniform regulation in China. Evidently it is found that the cities to the north of the Tsinling Mountains and the Huai River are always square or rectangular, while to the south of this line the cities are always round or irregular. In my previous article, "The Cities of Southern Style and Northern Style," I mentioned that northern cities were built planned, but that southern cities were transformed from villages which arose naturally. I think it should be an important supplementary idea to this book.

Needham indicates that a curving roof is a very characteristic and beautiful feature of Chinese buildings. He gives more important information from *Ying-tsao Fa-shih* and research and pictures from *Ying-tsao Hsueh-sheh*. He wonders, however, about the reasons why ancient Chinese buildings were always made of wood instead of stone, which was used in other countries like Greece, India, and Egypt and which allowed many monuments to endure. It cannot be surmised that China had no stone suitable for great buildings similar to those of Europe and Western Asia; in China stone was used only for tomb-construction styles and monuments and for pavements of roads, courts, and paths. Needham points out that perhaps further knowledge of social and economic conditions might illumine the matter of the form of slavery, known in China in different ages but never equivalent to slavery in the Occident, which could dispatch thousands at a time to hard labor in the quarries.

In my opinion this explanation is good, but there are some other elements besides it. On page 262 of this book (in figure 876) Needham explained the illustration showing that the Chinese always had men of genius for the efficient organization of mass manpower. On careful study of Chinese civilization, the dolesmen are found in many parts of China. In the records of oracle bones it was shown that several ancestors of the Shang royal family, such as Shang-chia, Pao-I, Pao-ping, and Pao-ting, were worshiped in the stony shrine. But in later ages the ancestor temples were built of wood. Later a very famous story was recorded about the ancestor temple of Wang Mang that was built from lumber taken from the luxurious palace of Han Wu-ti. In the *Book of Poetry*

we find a description of the new palace built in the beginning of the Chou dynasty—"It is as beautiful as a pheasant flying." Thus the invention of the wood curving roof as the trend in the development of Chinese building is due to its magnificent beauty. Since beautiful wooden palaces and temples could be well protected within the longevous power of the rulers, they neglected to consider the importance of monuments.

KAN LAO  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

MICHEL CARTIER. *Une réforme locale en Chine au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Hai Rui à Chun'an, 1558-1562.* (École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI<sup>e</sup> Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le monde d'outremer passé et présent. First Series, Études, 39.) Paris: Mouton & Co. 1973. Pp. 169. 32 fr.

The title of Michel Cartier's work is somewhat misleading because the central section is concerned only indirectly either with the mid-sixteenth-century taxation reforms or with Hai Jui, a reform-minded official. The reforms and Hai Jui's background and role as a reformer in Ch'un-an, a county in western Chekiang, are treated relatively briefly in the introduction (pp. 11-17) and in chapter 4 (pp. 85-97). Also, a translation of selected portions of a work by Hai Jui, the *Hsing-ke t'iao-li*, is included as an appendix (pp. 103-50). As has been stated, however, Cartier's work does not really focus on Hai Jui and the mid-sixteenth-century reforms. The main body of the book is essentially a study of the administrative and fiscal systems of mid-sixteenth-century Ch'un-an County, preceded by an introduction that considers the county's geography, demography, and recent socioeconomic changes.

Cartier's work is one of the best of a modest, but growing, number dealing with the institutions and socioeconomic situation of mid-sixteenth-century China and with the "single-whip" taxation method, a reform measure, which gradually and in varying degrees replaced the older taxation systems in many areas from the Yangtze Valley to Kwangtung. The "single-whip" tax reforms had as main objectives the combining of the diverse land, labor service, and miscellaneous taxes into a few tax packages and the commutation of most of the tax packages from payments in kind and in labor into payments in silver. The reforms were prompted by various changes that were occur-

ring in the socioeconomic sphere: the growth of a money economy, the expansion of handicrafts, the appearance of abuses under the old tax systems, which had not been kept up to date after their enactment at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, and the need for more revenue and greater efficiency in the face of growing demands.

Cartier's work is solidly based on an impressive array of Chinese primary materials and of secondary sources in Western languages, Chinese, and, particularly, Japanese. Obviously, however, in a work of a mere 150 pages, Cartier can treat many aspects of his highly complex subject in only a preliminary fashion. Thus, it is to be hoped that he will supplement his successful initial work with a fuller treatment of the institutional and socioeconomic changes of the mid-sixteenth century. Such a fuller treatment will prepare us to answer more adequately what is undoubtedly the most fundamental question about the sixteenth-century changes and reforms: were they truly significant developments or merely minor alterations in tradition? On the basis of the information available at present, including this work, the conservative and restricted nature of the changes and reforms, plus the fact that they were supported by such a Confucian purist and moralizer as Hai Jui, lead one to believe them to have been minor alterations. But a definitive answer still eludes us.

JAMES B. PARSONS  
University of California,  
Riverside

EDWARD V. GULICK. *Peter Parker and the Opening of China.* (Harvard Studies in American-East Asian Relations, 3.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 282. \$12.00.

Students of the missionary movement in China and of early Sino-American relations will find this first scholarly and full-length biography of Dr. Peter Parker rewarding reading. Parker's early work in Canton prior to and immediately after the Opium War constituted the most significant part of his career. Thousands of Chinese suffering from illness, particularly diseases of the eye, benefited from treatment in Parker's hospital. The success he enjoyed, given his limited training in medicine and the state of medical knowledge at the time, was remarkable. The most refreshing aspect of this account is the author's careful attention to the kinds of cases Parker encountered and the



methods he employed, plus the description and analysis of Chinese medical practice at the time. There is recognition of the fact that Chinese practice, in spite of absence of scientific studies, could lay claim to significant achievements.

The author's admiration for Parker's work as a medical missionary is summed up in the list of Parker's achievements: "the founding of a key hospital, treatment of 50,000 patients, performance of the most spectacular surgery of the day, significant cultural transmission . . . , the inspiration of a very remarkable pictorial documentation of gross pathology, the establishment in 1838 of a bi-national institution—the Medical Missionary Society—to publicize a new profession and to assist in securing new recruits for it."

Gulick does not exaggerate Parker's abilities as a diplomat. Parker's most useful contribution was in assisting Caleb Cushing in the negotiation of the first treaty. Thereafter Parker served with only moderate success as chargé, secretary of legation, and finally as commissioner. In the latter position he sought to negotiate a new treaty but failed, not because of his own shortcomings, but because the Manchu-Chinese at the time were determined to negate proposed treaty revision. In the course of his efforts Parker fell victim to his own imperialistic orientation and foolishly advocated the occupation of Formosa as a means of forcing China to yield.

Professor Gulick, himself a former missionary-educator in Nanking, writes with understanding about the China of the 1840s and 1850s. He likewise refrains from stereotyped indictments of both missionaries and the Western governments' imperialism, but he does not hesitate to call attention to highhanded measures born of ignorance and a revolting sense of superiority. Parker does not emerge as a hero. He was arrogant, stubborn, far from tactful in personal relations, and committed to a truculent and narrow orthodoxy, but he was also courageous, an indefatigable worker, and skilled in the art of medicine.

PAUL A. VARG  
Michigan State University

RICHARD C. THORNTON. *China, the Struggle for Power 1917-1972*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 403. \$12.50.

Western scholars have called the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69 everything from a demonstration of Mao's unique approach to modernization to a power struggle. As his title

suggests, to Thornton it was the latter, along with all other passages in Mao's tumultuous public life. As for the "correctness" or aptness of Mao's policies, Thornton says little. To hagiographers Mao is the Revolution; here he is the political infighter who has outlasted all other "comrades in arms." The revolution—certainly the one with the reifying capital R—is pretty well crowded out in this teeming and salient work.

Thornton holds that Mao's originality as a Marxist-Leninist has been oversold. Mao, he writes, was usually a faithful follower of the Comintern, whose line was usually correct for China, being skewed mainly by the Chinese Communists in their intramural scrapping. Russian influence has been critical, early and late, being the most important of external vectors, including those of Japan and the United States, which have had "tremendous impact." The Cultural Revolution was not Mao's reasoned and autonomous confrontation with modernization; rather it was thrust on him by Khrushchev's ouster and the change in Vietnam.

Another revisionist interpretation for some will be Thornton's rather sympathetic coverage of Chiang Kai-shek, who was, it seems, kept from winning Manchuria largely by American rigidities and evasions. To Thornton the problem was military, there being only passing reference to the deterioration of the Kuomintang. Here, as elsewhere, the author does not erect the larger historical setting.

Nothing prevents Thornton's meticulously assembled data from being fitted into some wider frame: Mao may indeed have been animated by thoughts higher than political survival, but in the absence of any device for orderly succession, he had to use the means here so ably chronicled. For those who insist on the deeper view, this work will provide an invaluable guide into the day-to-day maneuvers, few of them edifying, albeit effective enough.

The book suffers from having no bibliography, and occasionally one wonders if one is reading Thornton's intelligent speculation or a documented particular. But the notes are full and very useful, and the work is an important contribution.

JOHN L. RAWLINSON  
Hofstra University

JOHN HUNTER BOYLE. *China and Japan at War, 1937-1945: The Politics of Collaboration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 430. \$16.50.

GERALD E. BUNKER. *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ching-wei and the China War, 1937-1941*. (Harvard East Asia Series 67.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972. Pp. 327. \$13.50.

One of the not infrequent "accidents" of history is here repeated: two first-rate Sino-Japanese scholars, both Americans, almost simultaneously publish, in this case, outstanding works on essentially the same subject matter. Their focus is Wang Ching-wei (1883-1944), an extraordinarily attractive Chinese figure, a leading associate of Sun Yat-sen, friend and foe of Chiang Kai-shek, a leader in the Kuomintang who never had a firm political or military base in that nationalist party-amalgam that sought and fought unsuccessfully to unite China under its banner.

Though Wang is their focus, both Boyle and Bunker examine his role in the broader canvass of the Sino-Japanese War immediately before and after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937. Despite the cutoff date in Bunker's title, both authors carry their historical analysis past the death of Wang to the end of the war in the Pacific. Both authors utilize their voluminous data (archival and published sources in Japanese, Chinese, and Western languages and interviews with leading figures of the period) to illuminate Japanese policies vis-à-vis China, the Kuomintang, and the actual and potential Chinese collaborators, among whom Wang is unequivocally placed.

The Marco Polo Bridge Incident, highlighted ever since 1937, was just that. The Japanese had already conquered the Manchu territory and set up as their "puppet," as both authors agree, "Emperor K'ang-te" (Henry Pu-yi). At the end of 1937 the political/military leaders in Japan faced a series of policy issues: to expand the war and thus establish Japanese paramountcy over all of China or to continue some military action while offering "peace" terms to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang.

Both Boyle and Bunker point out that there were Japanese military and civilian leadership factions ranged on each side of the debate. When it became clear that Chiang Kai-shek would not accept their current peace terms—recognition of Manchukuo and acceptance of Japanese economic primacy, especially in the Northern Chinese and Inner Mongolian provinces controlled by their military with the aid of local Chinese "puppets" or "collaborators"—Prime Minister Konoye Fumimaro announced in January 1938 that Japan "would cease all

contact with the National Government," would not negotiate with or accept Chiang, and "would look forward to the establishment of a new Chinese regime with which she would adjust her relations" (Boyle, p. 4, Bunker, p. 2).

There then emerged—in China and Japan—leading individuals and groups, some genuinely, some opportunistically, seeking to end the war with acceptable peace terms. Wang Ching-wei, always "an alternative to Chiang as heir of Sun in China's search for a viable political system to replace the old imperial system" (Bunker, p. 12), then serving as chairman of Kuomintang's Executive Yuan and as foreign minister, undertook to negotiate with some of the Japanese for attainable peace terms. Initially, it seems clear that Wang's effort was fully acceptable to Chiang. Wang sought to maintain the unity of China proper under a Kuomintang, anticommunist regime but would concede to Japan's "puppet" in Manchuria. The Japanese not only insisted on retaining Manchuria but also maneuvered for what came to be called its "bunji gassaku" policy, that is keeping China as a "federation of local regimes," a politically fractured China. Eventually there might be a new central government for all China.

It is at this point, late 1938 and early 1939, that Wang, having failed in this effort, departs Chungking and breaks with Chiang Kai-shek. Wang decided to pursue his "peace conspiracy," hoping, perhaps, to succeed as an independent leader. The story of the next four to five years, as both Boyle and Bunker recount it, is made up of a tangled web of conspiracies, plots, counterplots, attempted and actual assassinations—all in the name of saving the unity of China and re-establishing peaceful relations with Japan. Wang eventually submitted to Japan's terms, and a "reorganized 'Kuomintang' Government" was established by the "basic treaty" of November 30, 1940, with Nanking as its capital seat. He was given the hopeless task of winning over to his leadership the "Provisional" and "Restored" local governments in North China and Inner Mongolia and also of detaching from Chungking dissident factions, such as warlord Lung Yun of Yunnan and others.

Bunker begins and concludes his analysis with an assessment that describes Wang in classical Greek tragedy terms: Wang's character determined his fate. "His courage caused him to dare, his blindness to persevere, to stumble, and to fall." Both authors reject the view that he was yet another Japanese "puppet." Boyle

suggests that we look at other Asian actors during this period, and he correctly cites the fact that certain ones among the collaborators with Japan—Roxas of the Philippines, Ba Maw and Aung San of Burma, Sukarno of Indonesia, and Subhas Chandra Bose of India—were and are accepted as heroes or patriots or both in their respective countries. Wang, however, became a “traitor” to his contemporary Kuomintang comrades though he had been considered a towering patriot for most of his life. At the end he failed because what he wanted to achieve was really unachievable at the time.

If the reader can afford to add both books to his library he should by all means do so. If he has to choose between them—a most difficult choice—then Boyle offers a somewhat larger canvass than Bunker. And the Harvard University Press should be chastised for the miserable way it reproduced Bunker’s twenty-six photos, especially in comparison to the general excellence of those twenty-one reproduced by the Stanford University Press. Let the reader compare photo number 10 in Boyle with the sole duplicate on page 134 in Bunker.

FRANK N. TRAGER  
New York University

HELEN FOSTER SNOW (NYM WALES). *The Chinese Communists: Sketches and Autobiographies of the Old Guard*. Book 1, *Red Dust*; book 2, *Autobiographical Profiles and Biographical Sketches*. Introduction to Book 1 by ROBERT CARVER NORTH. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Company. 1972. Pp. xxi, 398. \$15.00.

JACQUES GUILLERMAZ. *A History of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921–1949*. Translated by ANNE DESTENAY. New York: Random House. 1972. Pp. xviii, 477. \$12.95.

PETER R. MOODY, JR. *The Politics of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*. [Hamden, Conn.:] Shoe String Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 346. \$14.00.

These three books span well over half a century of Chinese history, from the last years of the Manchu dynasty to the Cultural Revolution of a few years ago. Some of the autobiographies appearing in Helen Foster Snow’s *The Chinese Communists* take us back to the final decade of imperial China. And many of the figures mentioned in the autobiographies and again in Jacques Guillermaz’s *History of the Chinese Communist Party* became the protagonists in the power struggles of the first two decades of the Chinese People’s Republic, described in Peter Moody’s *The Politics of the Eighth Cen-*

*tral Committee*, reminding us once more of the unusual longevity of China’s revolutionary elite. But, while the actors provide a common denominator, the three books are very different from each other. Snow presents primary historical materials; Guillermaz gives straightforward descriptive history; Moody, although dealing with a later time period, provides interesting political analysis and interpretation.

The past two decades have seen the appearance of a number of valuable studies dealing with the Chinese communist revolution, but the field has lacked a history of the period that is comprehensive in scope or in time. Guillermaz’s *History of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921–1949* is among the first to fill this gap. It is a well-organized, generally reliable, and detailed account of the political and military events (with emphasis on the latter) surrounding the growth of the Chinese communist party from its foundation to its accession to power. This book should have its greatest appeal to the reader who has some basic familiarity with the subject and would therefore not be overwhelmed by a welter of often lifeless detail. It includes several dozen interesting photographs and many maps (especially of military movements) usefully scattered throughout. To the more specialized reader, however, it provides little more than a basic reference work. As a “comprehensive outline and synthesis of available knowledge” drawn primarily from Western and Chinese secondary sources, the book does not add significantly to our present understanding of the period. And while it claims to illuminate the causes of the communist success, the book reflects uncritical acceptance of earlier interpretations, such as the overwhelming significance attributed to the anti-Japanese war. The material presented is of course too general to support definitively any hypotheses about the successes of the revolution, but in an overview of this type one might have expected the author to have raised at least some points of possible interpretive debate and to have suggested future avenues of investigation.

Helen Snow’s *The Chinese Communists* is essentially a welcome new edition of one of the classic English-language works about the Chinese revolution, *Red Dust* (published under the pseudonym Nym Wales). Supplemented by scattered additional materials, the new edition consists of twenty-nine transcribed interviews with Chinese communist leaders and partisans (five of them women) conducted by Helen Snow, mostly during a clandestine visit to the Yen’an revolutionary base area in 1937. Although the

interviews were unsystematic and are of uneven length and content, they constitute (along with occasional photographs) vital and exciting raw material of modern Chinese history. To fully appreciate the autobiographies, the reader should have some knowledge of their historical context, and such a background is provided by Robert C. North's introduction to *Red Dust*, also included in this edition, but clearly dated by its 1950s cold-war tone. The interviews provide a rich panoply of anecdotal life histories reflecting the diversity of the people attracted to the revolutionary cause. The respondents range from the cosmopolitan children of scholar-official families to illiterate or self-taught sons and daughters of peasants, factory workers, and coal miners for many of whom the Long March marked the greatest extent of their travels. But virtually all have served the communist movement with ever-increasing commitment as soldiers and leaders, as teachers, doctors, and actors. In addition to having experienced the common physical and psychological hardships of early twentieth-century China, as enemies of the political establishment they have shared a life of armed clashes, narrow escapes, and the loss of comrades and relatives.

Not all of the stories read smoothly, but we are thereby reminded that we are dealing with the transcription of rare bits of oral history. The anecdotes cannot, of course, answer all of the questions of social scientists, but many of the random details ("It was [in Tibet] that [General] Chu Tê got his big Sikang dog which barks at anybody who does not wear a red-starred cap.") present to all readers some very real human beings.

While the five biographies added to the original edition of *Red Dust* are among the most stimulating (in particular, one dealing with Mao's relationships with women in Yenan), the same cannot be said of the last section of the book ("Biographical Sketches"). This short "who's who" certainly does not make good general reading, and the incorporation of miscellaneous personal notes does not substantially supplement the more complete biographical reference books available to students of communist China (and from which a lot of this material was drawn). This unsuccessful attempt to make *The Chinese Communists* into a new book should not, however, obscure its basic value.

Peter Moody's *The Politics of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* is intended for the specialist in contemporary Chinese politics, although its conclusions

may be of interest to all students of comparative politics, and of communist systems in particular. It has the unpolished flavor of a barely revised dissertation, but its documentation from Chinese sources is extensive, careful, and thorough. The aim of the study is to suggest that a decade of internal struggles within China's political elite led to the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution rather than to a waning into a phase of revolutionary Thermidor. The "power struggle" approach to the Cultural Revolution is not a new one, although it has generally been used to describe the events of 1966-69 rather than to explain their occurrence. Moody delineates a number of political groups within the Central Committee membership and discusses their positions on various policy issues that were dominant from 1956 to 1966. He suggests that the major underlying conflict is between the party apparatus seeking to institutionalize its power and the charismatic leader. Mao, in coalition with other political groups among which he wishes to have power diffused. As the conflict developed, the Central Committee became increasingly "a federation of fairly autonomous hierarchies," each pursuing its political interests, leaving the party center unable to assume Thermidorian leadership. The interpretation requires a number of assumptions with which the reader may not always agree, but Moody appears conscious of the tentative nature of his analysis (a common problem in the field), and his arguments remain challenging.

PIERRE M. PERROLLE  
Wheaton College

JOYCE C. LEBRA. *Okuma Shigenobu: Statesman of Meiji Japan*. Canberra: Australian National University Press; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1973. Pp. 195. \$10.45.

While ordinarily numbered among those former samurai who directed the course of Japan's imperial government from 1868 into the second decade of the twentieth century, Okuma Shigenobu was of a different order from most of his colleagues. They were from the great fiefs of Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa; he was from the less important Hizen. And even in Hizen he had only tenuous connections, having rebelled against Confucian tradition to engage in "Dutch studies" in Nagasaki. There he learned not only Dutch and English but also a good deal about Western mercantile and financial methods, making him, by contemporary stand-



ards, unusually well prepared to deal with problems attendant upon Japan's emergence from feudalism into the modern world.

It was this expertise, rather than cabalistic credentials or personal clout, that brought Okuma into the inner circles of government, and Joyce Lebra emphasizes the paradoxical significance: an outsider, with no power base, Okuma was unencumbered with the parochial concerns of most of his peers; his horizons were less limited, his attitudes more flexible. Too flexible, perhaps, and he finally resigned out of frustration over what he regarded as the short-sighted conservatism of the dominant Satsuma-Choshu clique. Demanding a constitutional monarchy, Okuma then launched a career as a party politician committed to parliamentary democracy, the national welfare, and the rights and duties of the common man.

The author does not hesitate to criticize Okuma's occasional opportunism as he helped shape Japan's policies (twice as premier) through a long career that lasted until 1916, but she sees him on the whole as a man of honor, courage, and foresight, a man with "unswerving faith in the concept of progress in general and for Japan specifically" who became the archetypal national, as opposed to regional, statesman of Japan.

This well-documented, well-indexed book is a useful addition to the biographical studies of other leaders of Meiji and Taisho Japan. Lebra's stress is on Okuma the politician-statesman, and her explication of his place in the dreary genealogy of Japanese party politics is fairly painless. But the general dryness could have been leavened a bit if more attention had been paid Okuma's role in education (as founder of Waseda University) and as an ordinary man. Lebra's style is not very warm, and Okuma the private person seldom emerges; Mrs. Okuma is mentioned but twice, and their family life remains a secret. Joyce Lebra has told us much that is valuable about Okuma's politics but too little of the humane qualities with which a man of his vision must have been endowed.

EDWIN B. LEE

*Hamilton College*

HENRY DEWITT SMITH, II. *Japan's First Student Radicals*. (Harvard East Asian Series 70.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972. Pp. xv, 341. \$16.00.

This is an impressive, scholarly book. The author, an assistant professor of history at Princeton University, has made an exhaustive study

of the precursors of the modern student movement in Japan. He begins by providing the reader with the necessary background on the university system and the roots of student unrest, such as simple rowdiness, objection to single matters, and political protests. The main body of the book details the founding of the Shinjinkai (New Man Association) and a number of other similar groups in late 1918 and early 1919 until the rise of militarism and the attendant suppression of the student movement in the 1930s. In the last part of the book the reader is treated to the author's analysis of the origin and later careers of the Shinjinkai members. These are in turn scrutinized, finally, to gain some perspective for understanding the revival of student movements after 1945.

The sources of information include an exhaustive bibliography, especially in Japanese, and many current interviews with surviving members of the Shinjinkai, the most representative of the radical groups. Smith pays meticulous attention to details and is very careful in making his readers aware of the limitations of his samples. This book is indispensable for anyone who wishes to learn something about the social ferment behind the modernization of Japan.

I am of the opinion, however, that Smith has not seriously taken into consideration the social and cultural factors in evaluating his data. Because of the fact that "42 out of 100 Shinjinkai members whose sibling rank is known were first sons," which seems to negate the common observation that "first sons in Japan tend to be conservative, responsible and inhibited" (p. 237). Smith dismisses such considerations as irrelevant. But there are other indications of the cultural factor, even from the data the author gives. For example, much of Japanese student life that preceded and accompanied the radical movement was characterized by brawls, pranks, and riots for such causes as bad food in the dining hall (p. 18). That such activities were not accidental was shown by the fact that in 1965, when I visited Doshisha and Kyoto Universities, the students who struck for political reasons also put on big character wall posters (as the Chinese did during the Cultural Revolution) bearing complaints ranging from insufficient heat in the dorms to a poor quality of management of dining halls.

Once this kind of cultural continuity is understood (and the author sees continuity in the Japanese student movement [p. 262]), one



must ask, can the fact that a very substantial number of "jailed communists began gradually to recant" and "the apostasy of hundreds of other imprisoned leftists" be due simply to the "sophisticated use of techniques of persuasion by the government authorities" and the *tenko* (turn coat) of two communist leaders (p. 222)?

Similarly, Smith seems to offer no more than the "widespread public concern over Japan's security" (my italics) following the controversy over the London Naval Conference in 1930 as the explanation for "the sudden resurgence of student nationalism" and for the fact that "where only twenty-two right-wing campus groups existed prior to September 1931, four times that many were active by early 1933" (p. 220). How did such a widespread leftist movement ("In geographical origins, the Shinjinkai members came from every corner of Japan, representing all the forty-seven pre-war prefectures." [p. 235]) turn in the opposite direction within such a short time? Could it be as simple as the author would have us believe? Had he looked at the neighboring Chinese society, might Smith not have noted that the Chinese disappointment at the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919 was far greater, and the threat to China's security in the ensuing decades far more severe than Japan's in 1930? The May 4 movement of 1919, led by students of National Peking University, had all-China repercussions. But except for a tiny minority who mouthed fascism or Nazism, it was not followed by any proliferation of right-wing campus movements. On the other hand, many of the same Japanese radical students themselves, whose forebears were brought up on J. A. Hobson, G. D. H. Cole, Bertrand Russell, as well as Karl Marx, P. J. Proudhon, and Lenin (as were their Chinese counterparts), were later the Japanese soldiers and officers who became zealots in the conquest of China and who committed against innocent Chinese men, women, and children atrocities worse than those of the Nazis against the Jews.

Western readers today tend to be ignorant of the magnitude of the Japanese atrocities in China for two simple reasons. First, the Chinese themselves, unlike the Jews, have tended to forgive and forget them rather than to amplify and revivify them. That has something to do with Chinese national character and culture. Second, and more important, Americans have minimized even atrocities by whites against nonwhites, not to speak of those of nonwhites against themselves. After all,

would the average American have tolerated the daily body counts on TV if the bodies were not those of Vietnamese but of Europeans?

The security of the United States has been exploited to justify all sorts of American military ventures abroad. Is Smith as a historian falling into the same psychological trap from which his fine scholarship cannot rescue him?

FRANCIS L. K. HSU  
Northwestern University

BENJAMIN C. DUKE. *Japan's Militant Teachers: A History of the Left-Wing Teachers' Movement.* (An East-West Center Book.) Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1973. Pp. xvi, 236. \$9.50.

DONALD R. THURSTON. *Teachers and Politics in Japan.* (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973. Pp. xiv, 337. \$14.50.

Benjamin Duke's study is not quite what it says it is. It is thorough, detailed, and well-documented, with an excellent set of translated writings appended to the body of the book. However, Duke has studied the Nikkyōso (the Japan Teachers' Union) and its leadership, not the teachers themselves. In this sense it is a less satisfactory book than Thurston's, which focuses on the issue of teachers and politics and pursues it with vigor and crisp analysis.

Duke has done a commendable but not an inspired job. He has identified accurately the pre-World War II roots of the teachers' movement and traced with great care the evolution of the leadership of Nikkyōso. His final chapter, "Militancy, An Analysis of the Causes," is particularly good in relating the careers of some of the top leaders (Iwama Masao, Kobayashi Takeshi, and Miyanohara Sadamitsu) to institutional developments. Perhaps the most significant of his conclusions, the basis for which he develops carefully and soundly, is that "Communist influence within Nikkyōso has been dominant only when the Communist bloc on the Central Executive Committee was capable of leading the union for or against an issue about which the average union member felt strongly" (pp. 201-02). Anyone wishing to follow and understand the development of this very important institution will find the book an excellent guide, if not definitive then close to it. There remains, however, the very important work of studying the teachers themselves. How did they relate to and view the Nikkyōso and its leadership? What effect did

the union's activity have on their daily work and on children themselves? We get little sense of this aspect of the topic.

Thurston's work is much more satisfactory in concept and design. He states his purpose clearly in his introduction. It is "to evaluate the influence the J.T.U. has had as a renovationist interest group on its own members and on the formulation and implementation of educational policies. At a higher level the purpose is to evaluate the significance of the J.T.U. in postwar Japanese politics and society." He has done a superb job of carrying this purpose to a successful conclusion. As a political scientist he has structured his analysis of Nikkyōso in the typology of interest groups, certainly an accurate and helpful approach.

The first quarter of the book is devoted to background. One has to wade through a plethora of political science jargon, but the analysis is accurate and incisive. Thurston's presentation of union ideology and objectives is sound and sets the stage for his discussion of union organization, relationships with the ministry of education, and the teacher's role in politics. One of the most important sections of the book is the author's discussion of the "union consciousness" of teachers (ch. 5). Here we discover the individual teachers, their self-perceptions, and their views of the union, its role, and their relationship to it. We get a sense of how people live and act professionally. Another major contribution of Thurston's work is the clarification he provides of the distinction between the relative lack of influence of Nikkyōso at the national level and its great influence at the local level. He points out (pp. 212-13) that the union has never been successful at influencing the policies of the ministry of education as they are formulated, but since its members are the people responsible for implementation of these policies, teachers have significant if not decisive educational influence at the prefectural and local level.

This combination of careful analysis and meaningful examples highlights the book throughout. Thurston's brief concluding chapter brings the material together in helpful summary form. The documents in the appendixes and the extensive bibliography enhance the value of what the author has done.

These two books fill a major gap in material in English on an important aspect of Japan's postwar experience. Specialists and generalists alike will find them useful.

JACKSON H. BAILEY  
Earlham College

S. R. RAO. *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*. With a foreword by SIR MORTIMER WHEELER. New York: Asia Publishing House. 1973. Pp. xix, 215, 43 plates. \$35.00.

With the political partitioning of South Asia in 1947, Indian archeologists initiated a search for Bronze Age sites within their new boundaries that would equal those of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in the Indus Valley, which had gone to Pakistan. In 1954 S. R. Rao discovered Lothal in Gujarat, a poor cousin to the ancient cities to the north, but certainly within their cultural penumbra. In this volume the discoverer and principal excavator of Lothal offers a survey of archeological research carried out over the past fifty years. Along with a description of Indus civilization, economy and trade, the arts and social life, there is a discussion of the Indus script, which Rao tells us he has deciphered. Preceding the index are over forty plates, some in color. Line drawings appear with the chapters. Scales do not appear with any photographs and are present in only a few of the drawings. The foreword by Sir Mortimer Wheeler is a historical overview of dating analysis.

I myself, a visitor to Lothal, find it difficult to appreciate how a site only two kms. in circuit could support a population of ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants, as Rao claims. He explains the large artificial body of water at Lothal as a dockyard capable of containing at one time thirty ships of fifty tons each, yet does not cite his archeological colleagues holding alternative interpretations about the function of the tank. Surely our author has another word in mind when he writes, "the seafaring merchants of the Indus Valley cities . . . established a small colony at Lothal circa 2450 B.C. with a view to refuel their south-bound ships" (p. 55).

Turning to the broader issues of Lothal's place in the sphere of the Indus civilization, Rao disclaims any significant cultural influence from the Near East. Indeed, even the idea of civilization is disassociated from the rise of high cultures in Mesopotamia since Sumerian and Indus customs are not identical! But Rao is quick to itemize benefits that early civilization, originating independently in South Asia, has bestowed upon peoples beyond the Indus. Among some of the inventions he attributes to the Indus civilization are the compass, the auger drill, and circular saw, "English bonding" techniques in masonry, cultivation of rice, standardization of goods and services (but without

threat to individual initiative, he assures us), the origins of Yoga, compassion for animals, and adoration of the fire god, plus a number of spiritual innovations. The foundation of marine engineering in the world is enshrined at the dockyard at Lothal. Western archeologists may have difficulty in accepting these arguments for one-way cultural diffusion from the Indus Valley.

As a biological anthropologist familiar with the skeletal remains from Lothal and related sites, I admit acute discomfort from our author's application of venerable anthropometric studies, some of limited value, to the very real problems about the biological history and affinities of the people of this high culture. The cranial index is misapplied as a label for racial type. It is jarring to read that "if the linguistic term 'Aryan' is applied to the dolichocephals of Lothal . . . it follows that the majority of the Lothal population of Period A was Aryan" (p. 157) or to note Rao's failure to attack the notion that "some anthropologists hold the view that the Mediterranean (racial type) has contributed most physically, while the Armenoid (racial type) may have contributed more culturally" (p. 158). The important questions of biological adaptability and change of the Indus civilization skeletal series are not raised.

We are indebted to Rao for his reporting of dates from recent radiocarbon analysis, the announcement of new sites, and his imaginative interpretations of the Bronze Age peoples of India and Pakistan, a report that will stimulate discussion among his co-workers and afford a provocative introduction for the nonspecialist interested in the rise of high cultures in South Asia.

KENNETH A. R. KENNEDY  
Cornell University

MAURICE HENNESSY. *The Rajah from Tipperary*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972. Pp. xx, 183. \$5.95.

His role was never that of a Wellesley or a Clive, but for at least thirteen years George Thomas was a significant figure in northwest India, and from 1797 until his final defeat in 1801 he did indeed make himself rajah of the sizable area of Haryana. He was one of a number of colorful European mercenaries playing important roles in the political and military struggles that characterized India in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Thomas is therefore a worthy subject for a popular biography, illuminating a significant segment of

Indian history and of the European experience therein.

Unfortunately Maurice Hennessy's effort falls disappointingly short of the mark. It neither illuminates Indian history nor gives a balanced account of Thomas's life and impact. The bibliography itself is sparse. It consists of secondary sources and contemporary accounts. But it is the uncritical use of sources that leads to serious flaws in the book. Hennessy relies heavily upon Thomas's own account of his Indian adventures—indeed several chapters are based on nothing else—without apparent awareness that history is more than the recollections of one or a few participants. He fails to recognize the limitations of Thomas's memoirs, as dictated to another officer shortly after his final defeat. This and two other contemporary accounts, which he calls his three primary sources, provide enough information, the author believes, to "satisfy the most demanding of historians."

Hennessy's understanding of the Indian scene is dubious at best and is marred by factual errors. He repeatedly refers to British India and the East India Company as if they were competitive sovereigns, ignoring parliamentary controls over the company's political activities. Twice he identifies Haidar Ali of Mysore as a "Hindu" rather than a "Muslim" ruler. Elsewhere he mentions Haidar "and his son, Tippu of the Carnatic," as if the two successive Mysore rulers were sovereigns of separate principalities. Inexcusably careless errors also occur, as when the author refers to Thomas's operating area of Haryana, Punjab, and Rajasthan as "eastern India."

Readers might be well advised to look to another recent popular study, Shelford Bidwell, *Swords for Hire, European Mercenaries in Eighteenth-Century India* (1971). Bidwell devotes approximately half of his work to Thomas and portrays him more clearly than Hennessy does. Bidwell also serves history better, for he provides a balanced analysis of the time and setting in which Thomas operated.

EDWARD B. JONES  
Furman University

B. G. GAFUROV. *Tadzhiki: Drevneishaia, drevniaia i srednevekovaiia istoriia* [Tadjiks: Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval History]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vostokovedeniia.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 657.

This work is not just a history of the Tadjiks from the earliest times to the eighteenth century, but a cultural and social, as well as a

political, history of the area of Soviet Central Asia. The author, academician Gafurov, is not only himself a Tadjik, hence with special insights into Central Asian matters, but he is also the director and chief architect of the flourishing Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. If any Russian book dealing with this period of the history of Central Asia ought to be translated into English the present publication is surely that one. The author had written previous works on the Tadjiks, and the present volume is the culmination of much past research. A number of specialists advised the author on minute points of prehistory, archeology, numismatics, and the like, making the book a veritable handbook of all the facets of the history of Central Asia.

After reading this book one has the impression that Soviet scholars have completely transformed our view of Central Asia compared to sixty years ago when it was a vast *terra incognita*. Never has archeology anywhere been so rewarding. The sketches in the book of reconstructed costumes of peoples in Central Asia in various periods of history, in my opinion, are a welcome and valuable addition to the volume. Extensive bibliographies are given and many photographs are of new and unknown materials. For example, the huge reclining Buddha from a monastery in Adjinra Tepe has opened a new field in the study of Buddhist remains from Soviet Central Asia.

It is impossible in a short space to discuss the many new materials presented in this book, which is systematically arranged by periods, in each of which social and economic questions are discussed as well as cultural and political history. With full indexes this publication will undoubtedly become a handbook for the subject and can be well recommended.

RICHARD N. FRYE  
Harvard University

HAFAEEZ MALIK, editor. *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*. (Studies in Oriental Culture, number 7.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1971. Pp. xviii, 441. \$12.50.

It is difficult to capture in a brief review the mind and life of a man so complex as Iqbal. However, some of the essential points are made in this book, indeed even in its title. Iqbal has had a profound influence on the life of Pakistan, not only in its conception but increasingly in the 1970s as a kind of legitimizing force as Pakistan seeks to define its Islamic nationhood

in contemporary terms. That Iqbal should provide this kind of philosophical reference point to Pakistan thirty-six years after his death is a reflection of the depth and range of his vision and his importance as a political thinker among the Muslims of South Asia. The poet-philosopher's son, Javid Iqbal, a prominent jurist of Lahore, makes this characterization at the conclusion of his brief essay in this volume: "Today [Iqbal] is a living force in the minds of sensitive Pakistanis—inspiring, directing, and sustaining us in our struggle to reconstruct our national life" (p. 63).

The strength of this collection of seventeen essays by an illustrious international panel of Iqbal scholars is that it brings understanding, and through the many views of its authors it achieves balance. There is little of the hagiography that appears increasingly in the public press and in the statements of public men in Pakistan. Malik and his colleagues have done an enormous service in providing an American audience and the world of scholarship with this detailed and balanced assessment of Iqbal so shortly before the poet-philosopher's birth centenary in 1977. Muhammad Iqbal was and is many things to many people in personal, philosophical, and ideological terms. The essays in this volume represent many of these perceptions. They are organized under five broad rubrics—biography, politics, philosophy, Islamic mysticism, and poetry—and while they vary in quality, taken as a whole they illuminate abundantly the career of a major figure in the twentieth-century history of South Asia. Iqbal emerges as a man of pragmatic action and thought as he seeks to interpret Islam in very human and humane terms. He has a very "this worldly" quality about him, and I suspect it is this dynamic sense of his view of man in the world that has made him such an intellectual force in the life of Pakistan, Islam in South Asia, and beyond. Professor Hafeez Malik has provided a useful bibliography and two important letters from Iqbal to Jinnah in an appendix. The book is effectively organized making the ideas of Iqbal and the essayists easily accessible. It is a good book and a good job of bookmaking.

WALTER HAUSER  
University of Virginia

GERD LINDE. *Burma 1943 und 1944: Die Expeditionen Orde C. Wingates*. (Einzelschriften zur militärischen Geschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieges, 10.) Freiburg: Verlag Rombach. 1972. Pp. 207.

On March 22, 1942, Major Orde Wingate arrived in Maymyo, Burma, to begin implementing a "long-range penetration" tactic of guerrilla warfare behind the Japanese lines that would, it was hoped, significantly affect the Asian land war but that, in any case, would prove to be the crown of Wingate's own short, intense, and often controversial military career. The present volume is a brief military history of Wingate in Burma. After sketchy introductory sections on the Burma theater of war and on the development of the "long-range penetration" concept, Linde focuses almost entirely on the 1943 and 1944 operations of the Chindits, which went on uninterrupted by Wingate's own death in an air crash in the Bishanpur mountain range in March 1944.

Written with a careful eye for logistical detail, tightly narrated, and well provided with sketches and reproductions of operational documents, the book is indispensable for any study of the Burma campaign and constitutes a useful supplement to the studies on Wingate's exploits by Christopher Sykes, Bernard Fergusson, and others. In his conclusion Linde sees an even longer perspective: touching on the persistence of guerrilla insurgency in Upper Burma today and on the proximity of Chinese military concentrations, he raises the possibility that the embattled strongholds of the 1943-44 Chindit campaigns may "also in our time" become new centers of tactical significance.

Though not primarily a study of command, the book inevitably raises again the question of Wingate's leadership and tactical perception, now perhaps of greater interest than ever in this era of preoccupation with guerrilla and "people's war." The record seems cloudy. Wingate rejected the tactics of Lawrence of Arabia, which he, rather unfairly, stigmatized as "letting people fight for one" for "a sack full of gold" (the Royal Central Asian Society's subsequent award to Wingate of its Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal must have moved Wingate "strangely," as Linde observes). Instead Wingate, on the basis of his Ethiopian experience, urged that the population be made to realize the existence of a common enemy, that others should not be fighting "our battles for us," and that if there was a popular readiness to help, an offer to supply arms could and should then be made. In the event, though an anti-Japanese guerrilla movement grew in Burma in the course of the war, the Chindits' relationship with it remained quite limited. Neither British nor United States operations were really part of a Burmese "people's war," and, as Linde

observes, the Chindits were neither "partisans" nor ideological fanatics.

Then, too, according to Wingate's loyal subordinate, Brigadier Bernard Fergusson, the development by Wingate of direct air assistance and supply of ground forces were "wholly new contributions to military thought," while his ideas on "long-range penetration" were not merely dimensions of localized guerrilla action but were viewed by him as "integral parts" of a battle to bring the access route to China into Allied hands. There is no question of the significance of the Chindits' campaigns in terms of the latter objective. Yet it remains questionable whether Wingate, despite his extensive guerrilla experience in Palestine and Ethiopia, was necessarily the best man for the job, given his difficult personality and the operational limitations imposed upon him. One sidelight is revealing. Linde notes that after the Quebec Conference the well-known American fighter pilot, Colonel Philip Cochran, became Wingate's air force commander. But Wingate and Cochran were "at first sight thoroughly unsympathetic" to each other, and Cochran's unit remained under American command. Little love also appears to have been lost between Wingate and other American commanders, for example Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell. Linde describes Stilwell as a "typical American" who was unable to put himself in the place of "other peoples" and who allegedly reflected his "national inferiority complex" with respect to military planning. Such lapses, fortunately, are few in these pages, and the concluding section of the book gives a fair, tactical synopsis of Stilwell's "special force" in May 1944.

JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF  
*University of Bridgeport*

PETER BOLGER. *Hobart Town*. Canberra: Australian National University Press. 1973. Pp. xvii, 237. \$A6.95.

The jacket in which Peter Bolger's *Hobart Town* is wrapped suggests that "this book gives a lively account of the growth of the City of Hobart from its earliest days as a convict settlement to a metropolis with wide streets and fine buildings." Such an account would be welcome, but this work does not contain any such complete story. Rather, it deals in detail with the local history of Hobart, now the capital city of Tasmania, between about 1844 and the end of the 1880s. Only a short twenty pages are given to the two decades from settlement in



1803 and relocation in 1804 until the mid-1840s when the old town began to take definite shape. Likewise the reader is inclined to feel short-changed by the fact that the story ends a decade before the end of the nineteenth century. Except for a short epilogue of less than six pages devoted to but four incidents from among events of the 1890s, the decade prior to federation receives no attention. While the author calls this one of the "most dramatic decades of the century," it rates almost no attention, regardless of the fact that during these years Hobart cast off its earlier simplicity and assumed a new role as the capital of one of the states of Australia. The limitations that Bolger has placed on the story will be regretted by scholars searching for something like the account provided in A. Morley's *Vancouver—From Milltown to Metropolis* (1961) where the story of a provincial city of the British Empire is told with real appreciation for the way in which, regardless of the disadvantages of location, a new city served as the core from which life radiated out to the nearby beaches, bush, and hills.

Many historians of Australia—especially those dealing with the colonies where early settlement was largely a result of transportation of convicts—tend to draw, as George Johnston says, a discreet curtain across "raw and hard beginnings." Bolger does not fail to tell of convict lawlessness—which he says has made "Tasmanian history a two-headed monster"—but he tends to overlook many of the valuable contributions that the convicts and their descendants made to "comfortable little Hobart." He tells the story of a Victorian community dedicated to seeking respectability and gaining acceptance and provides a varied account of merchants, clergymen, lawyers, prostitutes—and citizens in general—during the fifty years from the 1840s through the 1880s. The story is interesting and valuable. While based on little-known local records, which give it worth, the account is too anecdotal and lacking in interpretations to be fully satisfactory. The author cites in his bibliography, which is only partial and refers the reader to a more complete listing in an earlier doctoral dissertation deposited in the distant libraries of the Australian National University and the University of Tasmania, a number of books about the history of other cities. No references are made to these in the text, but it would have been helpful if comparisons had been drawn between events and developments in Hobart and those in other South Pacific cities like Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, and Wellington. In fact other growing cities of the

nineteenth-century British Empire, like Toronto, Halifax, Winnipeg, Port Elizabeth, and Durban, faced many of the same problems as Hobart, and the story could have been enriched by demonstrating how developments in Tasmania were similar, or dissimilar, to those of widely separate regions of British migration and settlement on other continents. All were shaped to a greater or lesser degree by their isolation, or what Geoffrey Blainey has so aptly called "the tyranny of distance." The benefits of such comparative study are real and would have added to the value of Bolger's work for those other than readers with a purely local interest in the subject matter.

A. STANLEY TRICKETT  
University of Nebraska,  
Omaha

BEDE NAIRN. *Civilising Capitalism: The Labor Movement in New South Wales, 1870–1900*. Canberra: Australian National University Press; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1973. Pp. xii, 260. \$13.45.

In his valuable and compressed introduction Dr. Nairn states that his book is attempting three objectives: first, to describe and analyze the key role of the trade unions, particularly that of the Trades and Labor Council in New South Wales between 1870 and 1891, when they formed the parliamentary Labor party; second, to argue that the Labor movement was "an integral social institution" that kept capitalism under control throughout the eighties and, in 1891, formed the Labor party to civilize a capitalism that was becoming uncontrolled; and third, to prove that by 1900 the Labor party was "a mass democratic radical party." It is unfortunate that these three objectives are overwhelmed at times by archival overkill—too much detail, too many quotes, not enough generalizations, and no proper concluding chapter bringing the whole work into focus by summing up all the evidence and encapsulating what has been proved. Often the details are so bountiful that the year of the events is omitted for pages, causing the reader to hunt at the back of the book for footnotes giving the date. More serious, however, is Nairn's pro-Labor bias to the point that famous non-Labor statesmen, such as Sir Edmund Barton, are not given fair treatment. Furthermore, the author fails to provide a periodic synthesis of the general events of the years 1870 to 1900 and how the Labor party related to these events. Three examples will suffice: first, the role of the Roman Catholic

Church in the trade-unions movement and in the Labor party is glossed over; second, Nairn does not clarify the role of the upper house, the Legislative Council, though he brings out its seeming inurement to change; and third, the part played by the immortal Billy Hughes is not made clear enough, nor is his demagogic touch properly illuminated.

But the book has many plusses. Nairn shows clearly how the power of the Trades and Labor Council handled such issues as the eight-hour day and the payment of M.P.'s. He pinpoints the parliamentary confusion after 1885 and builds on the book by Peter Loveday and A. W. Martin, *Parliament Factions and Parties* (1966; *AHR*, 73 [1968]: 893-94), whose thesis was that there were no real parties before 1891, only groups with leaders such as Sir John Robertson or Sir Henry Parkes. Nairn praises Parkes as a man possessing "extraordinary political instinct and perception," and his final resignation in 1891 is clearly attributed by Nairn to Parkes's desire to weaken the controls of the new Labor party. Other political figures of importance are well identified, and the role of the Labor party's George Reid emerges with clarity. The irony is not lost on Nairn that Reid's reforms in New South Wales and his tireless and courageous work for federation cost him the honor of becoming Australia's first prime minister in 1901. Nairn produces evidence to prove that Reid "was incontestably the outstanding man of the colony" in the mid- and late 1890s. He also stresses, quite correctly, the "entrenched legislation paralysis" of the New South Wales parliament before 1891. The intricacies of politics, the seamy double-crossing, and the slick maneuvering are nicely brought out. He introduces new evidence to show how the 1895 election marks "a further great and complex step towards the modernization of New South Wales politics" (p. 129). He shows how the Labor party's position in opposing non-European migrants was not "racist" but purely economic, because Chinese and other alien workers were a threat to reasonable conditions of work and living. Nairn documents very well the disunity and confusion of the socialists. Finally, the last part of the book improves as it shows how the federation movement dominated politics, how the Labor party made federation possible in New South Wales, and how the party ended the century by asserting its autonomy. Nairn's archival digging is truly impressive.

SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH  
*University of California,  
Irvine*

## UNITED STATES

EDWARD A. PURCELL, JR. *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism & the Problem of Value*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky, for the Organization of American Historians. 1973. Pp. xi, 330. \$11.50.

If an American's doing American intellectual history is to have any extraordinary excitement at all, then that excitement invariably comes from the reflexive act of making problematic the knowledge and belief systems of the historian's own community. This act demands that the historian be self-conscious as he works through the task before him. Purcell is not self-conscious and his book is not exciting.

Nonetheless, it is solid intellectual history of the traditional sort, solid enough in fact to win the Frederick Jackson Turner Award for 1972. Purcell builds a case for the growth of a mid-twentieth-century relativist theory of democracy out of nineteenth-century scientific naturalism. Science provided American intellectuals with metaphors and methods that, when pressed to their logical conclusion, posed a multiple threat to traditional democratic theory (a theory that Purcell never quite articulates). The Darwinian society-nature analogy from biology and the non-Euclidean metaphor from geometry, logic, and physics undermined absolutist ethics, while the methodological imperative of scientific naturalism—that is, the commitment to empiricism and experiment—challenged the possibility of government by a priori law, the rationality of human behavior, and the practical possibility of popular rather than elite government. Purcell identifies the relativist inheritors of scientific naturalism in several intellectual communities, including the legal realists, the Boasian anthropologists, the logical positivists, the Chicago school of sociology, the psychologists of the irrational and subconscious, and political scientists in the manner of Lippmann and Arnold.

According to Purcell's scenario, relativist theory faced its maturing crisis when it was forced to deal with the reality of European dictatorships. By the late 1930s a full counter-attack was underway, restoring Aristotelian deduction, fundamental law, and a Thomistic rationalism critical of pragmatism. From this conflict emerged a new relativist theory of democracy (largely the work of Dewey) that viewed American experience as the empirical and moral norm for democracy. Thus, what was meant to be only a scientifically descriptive theory became prescriptive, carrying neo-relativists like Daniel Boorstin and Reinhold Niebuhr

into the postwar decades armed with an essentially conservative ideology.

Despite the fact that this book traces the intellectual genealogy and hard times of relativist theory, Purcell is not at all self-conscious about his model of change in belief systems. His chapter titles abound in the words of conflict, yet Purcell lacks the sort of language that Gene Wise in his *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry* (1973) or Robert W. Friedrichs in his *A Sociology of Sociology* (1972) use so well to talk about paradigmatic changes in intellectual communities. Both of these books overlap with Purcell's on certain issues and persons, but they are ultimately more impressive than Purcell's in that they make explicit their model of change—in both cases, Thomas Kuhn's.

Purcell also lacks a self-conscious sense of the relationship of scientific naturalism and relativist democratic theory to the community of American historians. Boorstin and Niebuhr are really the only historians to whom he pays any serious attention, and there is little or no mention of several other important, contemporaneous intellectual historians (Parrington, Miller, Gabriel, etc.). Surely those intellectuals deserve some attention in any analysis of the paradigm revolution in twentieth-century democratic theory.

Which leads finally to a third way in which Purcell lacks a self-conscious voice in his task. For a book that is about the tenuous and sometimes dilemma-laden relationship between ideas and human values, *The Crisis of Democratic Theory* is strangely value-neutral in tone. In an early chapter Purcell writes that at the center of the debate over the methodology of scientific naturalism was "the crucial problem of the nature of scientific knowledge and its relationship to human value judgments" (p. 40). I would have Purcell substitute "historical knowledge" for "scientific knowledge" and ask the question of himself.

JAY MECHLING  
University of California,  
Davis

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT and RICHARD L. WATSON, JR., editors. *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture*. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies. 1973. Pp. xix, 554. \$8.50.

TIMOTHY PAUL DONOVAN. *Historical Thought in America: Postwar Patterns*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 182. \$7.95.

GENE WISE. *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry*. (The Dorsey Series in American History.) Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press. 1973. Pp. xx, 370. \$5.95.

*The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture* consists of twenty-five essays commissioned by the National Council for the Social Studies. The aim is to make available, especially to teachers, "as authoritative and up-to-date an account of the state of scholarship in American history" as could be reasonably put into a single volume (p. 15). Hence the essays are of the same genre as those published in the American Historical Association's pamphlets; and one of the latter (Jack P. Greene's *Reappraisal of the American Revolution in Recent Historical Literature*) actually reappears here in slightly modified form (pp. 259-95). Although some readers of this *Review* are bound to find that contemporary scholarship in their own specialty has not been summarized and interpreted exactly as they might wish, the volume undoubtedly succeeds in pulling together the conventional wisdom on most standard questions. The contributors are accomplished scholars in the fields about which they have been asked to write (for example, Ann Firor Scott on women, Paul K. Conkin on intellectual history, W. W. Abbot on colonial America, Robert Wiebe on the Progressive Era), and they speak always for a substantial professional constituency. The opening selection by Edward N. Saveth (pp. 17-34) will probably gain the widest readership, since it discusses the scholarship of the 1960s as a whole. Saveth sometimes strays from his mission (for example, he gratuitously tells the radical Stoughton Lynd how short a life span the latter would have "in the Marxist paradises of Brezhnev and Mao"), but manages to focus helpfully on the decade's interests in ethnic and class relations, cliometrics, and microanalysis.

Saveth's essay affords an instructive contrast to Timothy Paul Donovan's *Historical Thought in America: Postwar Patterns*. Donovan addresses not only the 1960s, but the entire period since 1945, and is more concerned than Saveth with the basic philosophical ideas of historians. Still, what distinguishes Saveth's approach from Donovan's is less the questions pursued than what sort of evidence is used to answer them. Donovan depends almost entirely on programmatic or aphoristic statements by historians about what history is or ought to be, while Saveth bases his generalizations on the actual characteristics of monographs. Saveth's analysis would be richer had it given more attention to

the moral and social values implicit in the monographs of the 1960s, and Donovan's would be more interesting if the latter's sense of what counts as historical thought were expanded beyond prefaces and presidential addresses to include the philosophical outlook implied by actual works of scholarship. Within its own terms, Donovan's book is comprehensive: it scrutinizes the views of not only the leaders of the guild, but also historians who have contributed to the *Georgia Review*, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and *Catholic World*. Unfortunately, his careful research is not focused as clearly as it might be; the reader must strain to find cogency in, and support for, Donovan's argument that World War II is somehow responsible for what he sees as 'a revitalized humanism' in history, according to which "the significance of personality and human values in the drama of history" (p. vii) have been re-emphasized.

A much more bold approach to recent American historical thought is found in Gene Wise's *American Historical Explanations*, a sprawling, informal, yet intensely ambitious book with three salient purposes. It seeks to describe the metaphysical and moral outlook implicit in the writings of twentieth-century historians of the United States, and to account for the periodic changes in this outlook. It aims, secondly, to justify and to practice an ostensibly new mode of critical historiography, the study of "explanation in American historical studies." Finally, the book criticizes what its author believes to be conventional views of the nature of historical knowledge, and seeks to articulate and to defend an alternative view with which Wise's plans for historiography are supposedly compatible.

Wise's pursuit of the first aim is the most successful, for his analysis of Frederick Jackson Turner and Vernon Louis Parrington sharpens our understanding of how the progressive historians dealt with their own inchoate recognition of nonprogressive aspects of American experience. His discussion of R. W. B. Lewis and Perry Miller illustrates how historians of the 1940s and 1950s focused on complexities and ironies slighted by their predecessors. Wise's close study of Miller's *New England Mind: From Colony to Province* is his most valuable contribution, partly because it establishes the truth of Miller's claim to have depicted inherited ideas as a culture's functioning instruments for perceiving and contending with contingent experience. Wise is at his best doing textual exegesis, and is much less compelling when attempting to deal with general patterns in his-

torical writing. Wise seems to assume that there is a single torch to be passed, and that the ambiguity-eschewing New Left grabbed it in the 1960s from the faltering hands of the irony-loving "counter-Progressives," just as the latter had once left straightforward old Charles Beard to die in the dark. It is the "counter-Progressives" about whom Wise has potentially the most to teach us; unfortunately, he has squandered his energies on impressionistic accounts of "paradigm-change" instead of looking more closely at John Higham's *Strangers in the Land* (1963), Henry F. May's *End of American Innocence* (1959), William R. Taylor's *Cavalier and Yankee* (1961), Bernard Bailyn's *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967), Robert Wiebe's *Search for Order: 1877-1920* (1968), and Winthrop D. Jordan's *White Over Black* (1969). Scrutiny of these proverbially influential works might have enlarged Wise's characterization of the ironic vision, and saved him elsewhere from the incongruous claim that Miller, whom Wise correctly sees as the pre-eminent "counter-Progressive," is also the neglected hero of a "revolution that never happened" (p. xiii) in the methodology of intellectual history. Miller is decidedly not the only historian of the last twenty years to treat ideas as devices for coming to grips with concrete social situations.

Wise is surely right in asking that we treat the writings of historians not simply as accurate or inaccurate interpretations of primary sources, but as intellectual artifacts in themselves, with their own conventions and symbolic structure. This idea certainly deserves the wider acceptance Wise hopes to win for it, but he overshoots the mark by insisting that his own advocacy of it constitutes the opening up of a "new field" (pp. ix, xii, xvii, 51, 153) for scholarly inquiry. Wise understands that his own approach is not so distinct from that of a dozen or so historiographers whose work he acknowledges (esp. p. xvii), but he is needlessly offended by the fact that many of these scholars make history, and not historiography, the major focus of their careers. The actual innovation Wise seeks to introduce into our historiographical tradition, moreover, consists largely in the acceptance of a very dubious presupposition about the discourse of working historians. This discourse, we are to believe, has an endemic structure so fixed and determinate that we can fairly represent it by a set of interlocking, jargon-bound concepts of Wise's invention (explanation-form, situation-strategy, fault-line, pivotal-moment). Indeed, what weaknesses there are in Wise's account of Miller derive from his overly



literal attachment to this pretentious and stifling analytical apparatus.

What Wise has to offer as a theorist of historiography and as an interpreter of twentieth-century scholarship may go unread, however, for *American Historical Explanations* opens with a disastrous, three-chapter discussion of "objectivity" and "relativity" that is bound to create much distance between Wise and any but the most charitable of readers. In the most striking of several canards against historians, Wise denies to us the understanding that our claims about the past are, in themselves, episodes in intellectual history and therefore, like any human cognition, "grounded in time and place and circumstances and social milieu" (p. 57). It seems not to have occurred to Wise that this truism about historical knowledge could be consistent with the belief that some knowledge claims are better founded than others, for he continually equates allegations about "truth" with a naive belief that there exists an absolute reality with which a "true" interpretation must fully correspond. Had Wise been less preoccupied with straw men, he might have more quickly taken up the task he admits, in an uncharacteristic understatement, he has left for his future work: "we'll need to learn more about the logic of explanation [and] about what comprises a good explanation and what is a poor one" (p. 53).

DAVID A. HOLLINGER  
State University of New York,  
Buffalo

EDWIN T. LAYTON, JR. *The Revolt of the Engineers: Social Responsibility and the American Engineering Profession*. Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1971. Pp. xiv, 286. \$9.95.

If one were to ask that mythical figure, the typical Ph.D. in American history, what he knows about the social attitudes of American engineers, such a person would probably cite Veblen's *The Engineers and the Price System* and might conceivably refer to that curious phenomenon of the Great Depression, technocracy. Indeed, Professor Layton tells us that as a student he became interested in the subject of this book by reading Veblen. But his researches have revealed a story more extensive and considerably more complex than Veblen or Howard Scott imagined.

In part this book is in the tradition of recent analyses of civil engineers by Calhoun and Merritt, but it goes considerably beyond them. While Calhoun and Merritt were chiefly inter-

ested in the development of professionalism among civil engineers, Layton is more interested in the connections of these engineering organizations with more general American social thought and movements. He begins by analyzing the internal history of the major engineering societies, pointing out the conflicts between those who conceived engineers as independent professionals and those who saw them as an integral part of burgeoning business bureaucracies. Yet most engineers, he argues, shared a common ideology that held that engineers had absorbed the rationality and objectivity of their discipline and had the ability to apply it to other areas of life. In a sense F. W. Taylor and the scientific management movement were the logical culmination of this engineering ideology. Progressive engineers took up these ideas and argued that engineers could, by applying rationality and objectivity to social problems, solve most of the ailments that afflicted America in the Progressive era. For more than a decade the progressives fought to unite American engineers behind their credo and to use united engineering societies as an instrument for transforming American society. While the progressives had some first-rate leaders, notably Morris L. Cooke, and appeared to have converted Herbert Hoover to their cause, their larger hopes were dashed. Engineering societies proved to be inadequate reform instruments, and in the twenties these societies returned to "normalcy" under conservative auspices.

This is a first-rate study. Based largely on professional engineering journals it suggests some of the riches hitherto hidden in such sources. Layton has also used some manuscripts, notably those of Taylor, Cooke, and Hoover, and his study offers new insights into their respective careers. The analysis is always sound and often shrewd; the writing is clear and craftsmanlike. All in all the book richly deserved the Dexter Prize it received from the Society for the History of Technology. There is one additional bonus for readers of this journal: a patient reading of the experience of engineers with their societies may offer some helpful clues to historians brooding over future directions for the American Historical Association.

KENDALL BIRR  
State University of New York,  
Albany

MARY C. HENDERSON. *The City and the Theatre: New York Playhouses from Bowling Green to Times Square*. Clifton, N.J.: James T. White and Company. 1973. Pp. xiv, 323. \$14.95.



This book is the first attempt to tell the history of theater building in New York City. Or more particularly of the commercial or Broadway theater, as Mrs. Henderson omits reference to buildings elsewhere in the city. She provides information on construction date, the architect's name when known, a brief survey of productions and something on the building's demise. Between the brief descriptions we are given potted history of the city.

Unfortunately she does not tell us more about the theaters, and the potted history intrudes. Somehow she got off on the wrong foot by not confining her story to the theater. The occasional fact or date as background would have proven sufficient, thus leaving space to discuss the buildings and their associations.

We long for more information. For example, George Washington enjoyed going to the John Street Theater in his brief stay in the city in 1789 and 1790, but we are told nothing of his interest. In describing the Park Theater, the city's most important in the first decades of the last century, she fails to mention that it left notice of its passage in the name of Theater Alley, a rare New York alley running between Ann and Beekman streets. Minor notes these associations may be but they round out the picture. Just as it would be nice to be told that G. Albert Lansburgh, architect of the Martin Beck, was associated with Arthur Brown, Jr., in the design of the San Francisco Opera House.

The large curiosity is absent, essential in a work of this kind. It explains why she has made no use of the diary of George Templeton Strong. Nor is there any mention of the redoubtable congressman Sol Bloom, the builder of several 42nd Street theaters that are now movie-grind houses. Nor did Mrs. Henderson make use of the records of the city's building department that might have turned up a few odd facts such as that the Billy Rose Theater is in a structure built for an indoor tennis club. Even a page or two of description of the "Rialto," at 14th Street south of Union Square was known from 1870 to 1890, would have been entertaining.

More serious is her failure to dwell on theater design. We would like to know the chief characteristics of the nineteenth-century theater, such as its shallow stage, so different from eighteenth-century theaters. Also we should be told to what degree the commercial playhouse served as ornament to the city. To a certain degree, despite the limitation of the New York grid plan, they contributed to the urban panoply. Sculpture and mural decora-

tion were often present in quantity. For example, the New Amsterdam, the great Ziegfeld's theater, now a movie-grind house, still has a foyer decorated by R. Hinton Perry and a proscenium arch mural by Robert Blum and A. B. Wenzel. The sculpture on the front, by George Gray Barnard, has unfortunately long since gone. The Broadway theater did adorn the city if not in quite the spectacular terms of the movie palace of the 1920s.

Mrs. Henderson has no doubt pioneered in the subject. But those who come after need not worry. There is plenty left to explore in this neglected aspect of urban history.

HENRY HOPE REED

*Museum of the City of New York*

WILLIAM T. GENEROUS, JR. *Swords and Scales: The Development of the Uniform Code of Military Justice*. (National University Publications, Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. Pp. x, 250. \$12.50.

During the last few years the American military has fallen on hard times. In popular esteem, in congressional support, and, alas, even on the gridiron the hapless Army team, at least, has suffered a diminution in prestige.

William T. Generous deals with one cause for the loss of respect for the armed forces—their failure to keep the administration of criminal justice up to date with the corresponding changes in civilian criminal law. He tells us that the outmoded British Articles of War were still operative in 1917 as they had been since the American Revolution. The author traces the efforts of General Samuel T. Ansell for change during World War I, details the creation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice in 1950, and completes his discussion with a description of the current efforts to amend the system.

Though the problem is not stated so succinctly, it becomes readily apparent to the reader that the chief obstacle to reform has been a failure on both sides of the struggle to realize that the main weakness of the military justice system has been one of definition—or, rather, of distinction between military discipline and criminal justice. The inability of those responsible for the creation of the code and for its implementation to recognize this distinction has resulted in the perpetuation of a system of men rather than of laws. The good of the service is placed above the ends of justice. As the author points out on page 122, "in order to overcome . . . liabilities [of the Uniform

Code], some proposed legislative overhaul, others simply disregarded the more onerous parts of the law, and most began increasingly to rely on non- and extra-judicial means of handling service delinquency problems. . . . As late as 1963, the Navy JAG told his lawyers that the laws were not the source of [non-judicial punishment], but that the authority was 'inherent in the disciplinary powers of the CO.' " Lest the story seem too bleak, it should be pointed out that there are participants like Homer Ferguson and Sam Ervin who, when joined with Samuel Ansell, prevent the tale from becoming a total victory of "black hats" over "white hats."

From the detailed footnotes and the extensive bibliography it is evident that Professor Generous has researched his topic well. His interesting narrative of the history of the Uniform Code of Military Justice and of the Army, Navy, and Air Force Manuals, which implement it, should be valuable both to those whose interest is academic and to those whose contact with a court-martial has been first hand.

It is perhaps the author's absorption in his subject that has caused, at least in my opinion, a formal weakness in the work. Generous presumes at times that his readers are as familiar with technical and legal terms as he is. If those of us who have more than a passing acquaintance with law need our memories prodded with an explanatory adjective or phrase, how much more the general reader.

CHARLES A. LEONARD  
Western Illinois University

C. ROBERT KEMBLE. *The Image of the Army Officer in America: Background for Current Views.* (Contributions in Military History, number 5.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 289. \$10.75.

This volume, by a retired colonel who was formerly the director of American studies at West Point, is a significant contribution to social and intellectual history. Covering the period from the end of the Revolution to the early twentieth century, it is the first of a proposed two-part "cultural-historical study of America's conceptions of, and attitudes toward, the military professional." While describing the changing ways in which the nation has viewed the profession, the author attempts to identify "the basic, though often contrary impulses" that lay behind the successive shifts in perception. Here is no simplistic juxtaposition of militarism with antimilitarism but a careful

study of the subtle transformations by which the eighteenth-century officer-and-gentleman patrician image of the European tradition was Americanized only to be attacked by egalitarian Jacksonians. But even while under assault as privileged aristocrats, officers as scientist-technicians serving society constructively won respect and support. Significantly, the military academy established a department of engineering in 1812 but no department of military tactics until 1858.

After the Civil War, as civilian universities took over the scientific-technical role, Army officers turned increasingly toward their military calling, becoming by the end of the century true professionals. As the author puts it, they were thereafter marked more by their calling and less by their class. But the values of the Gilded Age and the coming of Darwinian evolution challenged this new professionalism. Today's critics who scent abuse in a military-industrial complex might be surprised at the vehemence of the attack by big business spokesmen on Army officers. The "fittest" were seen not as the strongest militarily but as the productively efficient businessmen. It is ironic that the use of Army troops to protect the property of the business interests in periods of industrial unrest only served to alienate the ranks of labor and reinforce the image of "Prussian" officers whose very professionalism was held against them. Despite these critics, the literary image of the American officer continued to be largely favorable, at least until the late 1880s, depicting a class of gentleman leaders of the highest ideals, notable for their strict honor, bravery, and patience in poverty and exile.

In short, this study traces a remarkably complex pattern of changing attitudes toward Army officers over more than a century. The author has culled both primary sources and secondary literature with a discrimination and fair-mindedness reflected in meticulous citations and a twenty-five-page bibliography. His next volume will be welcome.

I. B. HOLLEY, JR.  
Duke University

ROBERT C. NESBIT. *Wisconsin: A History.* (State Historical Society of Wisconsin.) [Madison:] University of Wisconsin Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 573, 88 plates. \$12.50.

The University of Wisconsin Press evidently intended this book primarily for text use in college and university courses on Wisconsin history. It can also serve the advanced second-

ary school student and will appeal to the adult Wisconsinite seeking a scholarly survey of his state's experience. The author, a native of the state of Washington, is a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Nesbit's volume should immediately supersede William F. Raney's standard history of Wisconsin (published in 1940 and slightly modified for reissue in 1965). Raney's book, whose systematic presentation of the best modern scholarship and splendid bibliographical notes offset a forbidding format and lackluster style, has long outlived its usefulness. Incorporation of a new generation's research into Larry Gara's *A Short History of Wisconsin* (1962) failed to break Raney's hold on the textbook market, for Gara's work was cursory and in appearance and content less suited to a mature audience. Some general readers may continue to prefer the extensive 1965 revision of H. Russell Austin's *The Wisconsin Story, The Building of a Vanguard State* (1948, 1957) for its sprightly, if journalistic, style and its colorful human interest.

Nesbit has special talents for state history. He skillfully synthesizes monographic and periodical literature and relates it to regional and national perspectives; he rarely confuses antiquarian lore with significant historical data; and he perceives and explains the broader meaning of state and local events. He has not changed the traditional outline of Badger State history, however, nor has he made up through his own research for deficiencies in existing scholarship on such topics as the industrialization and urbanization of the last hundred years. On the other hand, his portrayal of late nineteenth-century reform stirrings, the elder Robert M. La Follette, and the Progressive era is informed by recent revisionist studies, published and unpublished, of his Madison campus colleagues and their students; and his judgments on La Follette and the La Follette tradition, blending skepticism and admiration, are the freshest part of this volume.

One is impressed by the author's balanced and urbane judgments, his wide-ranging knowledge, his crisp style. One is grateful for the succinct, sometimes acid or puckish, annotations to his chapter bibliographies; but the latter suffer from incomplete and inaccurate citations, inconsistent practice, and neglect of some sources (almost no consultation of graduate theses at Milwaukee's two universities). Four appendixes provide convenient election and population data. The thirty-two-page pictorial essay at the end of the book, drawn by George Talbot from

the iconographic collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is a model of its kind, though some items lose impact from reduction in size.

Generally satisfactory though Nesbit's book is, I wonder whether it is not premature. Completion of a scholarly six-volume history of the state later in this decade should make possible a superior one-volume synthesis of Wisconsin history.

FREDERICK I. OLSON  
University of Wisconsin—  
Milwaukee

ROBERT F. HEIZER and ALAN J. ALMQUIST. *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 278. \$7.95.

RICHARD B. CRAIG. *The Bracero Program: Interest Groups and Foreign Policy*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1971. Pp. xvii, 233. \$7.50.

RODOLFO ACUÑA. *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle toward Liberation*. San Francisco: Canfield Press. 1972. Pp. vi, 282. \$4.50.

From bumper stickers proclaiming "Polish Power" to the lettuce counters of supermarkets, from political caucuses to newscolumns to campuses (according to a recent report in the *New York Times*, 135 colleges and universities are giving 315 courses in *white* ethnic studies alone), indications are that ethnic consciousness and assertiveness exert as strong an influence in America today as at any period of our history. Research and teaching in the history of immigration and ethnic relations once again seem to be relevant, popular and, one hopes, intellectually stimulating, creative, and useful to our troubled society. The field is again potentially "profitable" in many ways; one effect is that it has elicited from publishers—as was the case earlier with black studies—an outpouring of books and nonbooks, good, bad, and indifferent. The three volumes I have been asked to review illustrate the disparity of results achieved.

The easiest of the books to dispose of is *The Other Californians*. Although written, or put together, by two Berkeley anthropologists, there is nothing particularly anthropological in their method, content, or conclusions. Their approach is historical, but we are served up poor, superficial history, indeed. The 203 pages of text (followed by 55 pages that reproduce 19 oddly-assorted documents that somehow capti-

vated the authors' attention) are allocated heavily in favor of the Indians of California—one suspects that Heizer and Almquist have done more research, or reading, on them—while the state's Mexican immigrants, Asians, and blacks receive scanty treatment. Occasionally the reader stumbles across a relatively little-known and interesting nugget of WASPish perfidy, but obviously such a book generally can recount only the best-known incidents of Californian and American discrimination, repression, and racism, for all of which the authors are thoroughly ashamed. This *mea culpa* adds virtually nothing to our knowledge, and although it may serve to salve two anthropologists' consciences, one feels that certainly somewhere amidst the sprawling complex of research endeavors that it serves, the University of California Press should have been able to come up with a more deserving entry in the "ethnic books derby."

Replete with the jargon of political science research technique is Richard B. Craig's *The Bracero Program*. Early on, the author announces that "the theoretical framework around which this study is structured is an amalgam of two approaches to the study of the political process: interest-group theory and systems analysis." Despite this, however, he does succeed in presenting a comprehensive and generally comprehensible study of how international and domestic circumstances combined and were manipulated so as to preserve in operation, for eighteen years beyond the end of the Second World War which engendered it, a program that imported a total of four million two hundred thousand Mexican farm laborers into the United States under contracts that benefited agribusiness in the Southwest at the expense of both native and resident-immigrant farmworkers. With some knowledge of the political history of the period, one can rather easily fathom the main storyline of how this feat was accomplished, and also why it came to an end during the green years on the New Frontier of the Great Society. Reverting to considerations of political theory in the concluding parts of his book, Professor Craig, who teaches at Kent State University, concedes the fact that "less than 2 percent of the nation's farmers in five states could for so long dictate policy detrimental to the interests of resident workers, and perhaps to the majority of all United States citizens, was cause for serious concern" to subscribers to the "countervailing powers" theory. Yet "in a comparatively short time," he concludes, "the seemingly unbalanced group milieu

of imported Mexican labor" righted itself, providing vindication for J. K. Galbraith, Seymour M. Lipset, and the other "realists" who championed and popularized the notions of interest-group democracy.

Among those not likely to agree that eighteen years constitutes "a comparatively short time," especially for those on the short end of the stick, is Rodolfo Acuña, a Chicano who heads the Chicano studies department at California State University, Northridge. His book, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation*, is the most rewarding of the three reviewed here in that it affords us a textbook with a difference—an excellent introductory survey of the history of a particular minority group that conveys not only scholarship and information, but sincerity, concern, and commitment as well. Despite a few blemishes probably attributable to hasty copyediting, the book should open the eyes of most of its non-Chicano readers to a compellingly different perspective on an important aspect of American history and present-day society that includes such matters as the My Lai of the Mexican War and the occupation that followed the conquest; the growth of self-help *mutualistas* among captive and immigrant Mexican-Americans; the emergence of labor movements that waged and lost bloody strikes against copper barons in the early 1900s, cantaloupe and pecan growers in the 1920s, agribusiness in general during the Depression decade (violent encounters doggedly reported at the time by Carey McWilliams, whose chronicles of outrage are still labeled "communistic journalism" in some academic circles), and the Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation in the later 1940s (when Congressman Richard M. Nixon lent his name to a phoney House "committee report" that hastened the demise of the strike); the trials of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers union; the changing role of the Church and other traditional institutions, and the increasing influence of factors like urbanization in Chicano history; the decline of "integrationist" sentiment and the rise of separatist groups during the catalytic but frustrating 1960s; to the point where today, according to Acuña, "most activists were disillusioned with the existing system, and many were bidding good-bye to America." Yet, ironically, it may be that Chicano malcontents and spokesmen for the many other Americans slighted by the theory or practice of the "countervailing powers" approach to democracy up to this point in time are performing a highly patriotic ser-



vice. "The Chicano people seek self-determination," Professor Acuña writes, and "self-awareness in a . . . community that is inner-directed instead of being directed from without . . . the retention of culture; collective liberation instead of individual cooptation . . . control of their political, economic, and social institutions." In this post-Watergate era, millions of victims of our present system of "internal colonialism" might well be impressed with the insights and conclusions thus derived from the study of just one phase of immigration and ethnic relations in American history.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER  
University of Delaware

ALDEN T. VAUGHAN and GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS, editors. *Perspectives on Early American History: Essays in Honor of Richard B. Morris*. New York: Harper and Row. 1973. Pp. ix, 405. \$10.00

It is appropriate that this *Festschrift* for Richard Brandon Morris reflects in several ways the career of the master. Its contributors deal with a wide range of issues, often suggest new avenues of approach to important subjects, include strong elements of biography, and in general have carefully researched and judiciously stated their theses.

Alden T. Vaughan and Harry M. Ward analyze, respectively, the colonial perspectives of early Virginia and New England historians. Vaughan makes several perceptive comments on the differing purposes and viewpoints of these early writers. The New Englanders, he summarizes, "wrote ecclesiastical history, the Virginians natural history; the Puritans wrote of Canaan, the Anglicans of Eden" (p. 37).

Patricia U. Bonomi departs from the historiographical format of Vaughan and Ward to argue that the middle colonies were an "Embryo of the New Political Order." She contends that ethnic and religious diversity, sectional fragmentation, and the growth of practices we associate with the emergence of modern political parties were part of the middle colonies' scene and contributed significantly "to the formation of our political habits" (p. 65). H. James Henderson, in writing on "The First Party System," examines John Marshall's, Richard Hildreth's, and Charles Beard's views of the first national parties but concentrates on more recent scholarly efforts to analyze early national party growth. Henderson argues briefly that the regional and ideological tensions ap-

parent in the first national congresses had surfaced earlier in the Continental Congresses. He also suggests that historians have assumed an articulation between state and federal party battles that often did not exist.

In essays on twentieth-century perspectives, Philip L. White laments Herbert L. Osgood's careless writing, poor organization, lack of careful definitions, and his commitment to exposition without explicit analysis. In a provocative and critical essay on Carl Becker, Milton M. Klein explores the paradoxes in Becker's intellectual commitments and in his professional career. Richard Morris's article on "The Spacious Empire of Lawrence Henry Gipson," which first appeared in 1967, is reprinted here because it is still stimulating reading.

In the last and miscellaneous section of essays Emil Oberholzer examines selected aspects of Puritan historiography with his point of departure being the ideas and influence of Perry Miller. Recent historiography on the New England town is analyzed in an intelligent and useful way by John J. Waters. Herbert Alan Johnson does much more than present a historiographical interpretation of American legal history. Johnson urges legal historians to follow the approaches suggested by Daniel J. Boorstin and Stanley N. Katz, "to strike out for a broadly conceived legal history that seeks to explain colonial law . . . as it was conceived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (p. 277). In what may be the most useful and insightful essay in this collection, George Athan Billias analyzes the loyalists in American historiography. Scholars interested in pursuing loyalists and loyalism will find here several excellent suggestions for approaching these topics in imaginative ways. Mary-Jo Kline closes with a brief review of Morris's writings to which is appended Richard Morris's bibliography.

MARVIN R. ZAHNISER  
Ohio State University

GEORGE L. SMITH. *Religion and Trade in New Netherland: Dutch Origins and American Development*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 266. \$12.50.

Mr. Smith demonstrates at length and convincingly that the Dutch Reformed Church never had a great deal of influence in the founding of New Netherlands. When the fanatic governor Peter Stuyvesant tried to drive Lutherans, Jews, and Quakers out of New



Netherlands, the West India Company rebuked him and ordered "every one to have his own belief, as long as he behaves quietly and legally. . . . As the government of this city [Amsterdam] has always practised this maxim of moderation . . . we do not doubt, that your Province too would be benefitted by it" (p. 230).

So religious pluralism was established in the Middle Colonies both in theory and practice before New Netherlands became New York. Multinational, multilingual, tolerant in religion, oriented toward trade, New Amsterdam reflected the social patterns of its Old World namesake. These patterns anticipated the mood of England's post-Restoration imperialists and were reinforced by Richard Nicholls after 1665. The historical significance of the Dutch contribution to the religious pluralism in the Middle Colonies, however, has been largely ignored. Within the last ten years general books by Sydney Ahlstrom, W. F. Craven, and Edwin S. Gaustad have all failed even to mention it. It is therefore fortunate that Smith has so carefully and thoroughly made the point. This book, along with those by Simon Hart (1959), Thomas J. Condon (1968), and Van Cleaf Bachman (1969), provides a welcome stimulus to the study of the Dutch period of early American history.

Smith devotes more than half of his book to the rise of religious pluralism in Amsterdam. He perceives, too simply, that story to have been a struggle between gold-oriented merchants and God-oriented Calvinists. The argument is familiar and superficial. Smith's own feelings are evident throughout, although he tries to be fair: "It is far too easy to wax cynical and fall back upon epithets such as *geldwolven* to describe the great *heren*" (p. 187). In his second hundred pages (it is not a large book), Smith turns to events in America. His hero is Governor Stuyvesant, champion of *predikanten* and the Dutch Reformed Church. Under Stuyvesant's rule Smith writes admiringly that "the 'trading-post mentality' of earlier days was gone and had been replaced by an eagerness to sink deep and permanent roots for a true colonial society" (p. 189).

Whatever one thinks of Smith's eager partisanship, the central thrust of his account is well documented and its meaning for the history of the Middle Colonies seems uncontested.

MICHAEL G. HALL  
University of Texas,  
Austin

HUGH T. LEFLER and WILLIAM S. POWELL. *Colonial North Carolina: A History*. (A History of the American Colonies.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. xvi, 318. \$10.00.

There has long been a need for a good, solid, interpretative history of colonial North Carolina. Anyone wanting a comprehensive knowledge of the state's early history has had to consult the multivolume works of Herbert L. Osgood, Lawrence H. Gipson, or Charles M. Andrews and read the scattered chapters before putting it together for themselves. In an attempt to fulfill the need of a comprehensive history, Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell have written the volume on North Carolina for the series, *A History of the American Colonies*. This book covers the period from early settlement down to the outbreak of the American Revolution.

For the serious reader, the book suffers from a number of omissions. There is no apparent theme around which the authors have organized their thoughts. There is the suggestion of a theme but not until the epilogue. The book is not very interpretive with the exception of a sweeping general concluding sentence for each chapter. For example, the chapter on the social makeup of the colony is concluded by the sweeping and undocumented statement that "the revolutionary struggle, led in large measure by the upper class, was a leveling influence that began to wipe out class differences, which had become rather deeply entrenched during the Colonial period." Culpepper's rebellion is viewed as a part of a colonial-wide movement, ignoring any connection to the local problems of internal social and political instability resulting from the colony's early government—or lack of it.

While there is a well-written selective annotated bibliography, there are no footnotes. Direct quotations are not identified. This definitely destroys the value of the book for the serious reader.

Several chapters are extremely well written, but there is a definite unevenness in the writing style. The best chapter is the one concerning immigration into the colony. The reader immediately grasps the frontier nature and diversity of North Carolina's early society.

The book serves as a good introduction to the study of North Carolina's colonial history, but it adds nothing new to the knowledge of the period. It does pull together the myriad of events that made up the period. The authors would have done a greater service, however,

if they had untangled the complex evolution of North Carolina's government.

I doubt if those with knowledge of North Carolina's history have any need to consult this work except for the convenience of refreshing their memories.

EDWARD S. PERZEL

*University of North Carolina,  
Charlotte*

ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON. *Presbyterians in the South*. Volume 1, 1607-1861; volume 2, 1861-1890; volume 3, 1890-1972. Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press. 1963; 1973; 1973. Pp. 629; 528; 636. \$15.00 each.

Treatments of religion in the South have often been narrowly promotional or have concentrated too exclusively on selected faults distinctive of the region. Here is a history—based throughout on primary sources—from earliest days to the present of one of the three major Protestant denominations in the South that is well rounded and fair. While never disloyal to its sectional heritage, it is distinctly a voice of the New South, which quietly alters the whole perspective in which Southern Presbyterians have traditionally viewed their church. The author was himself a prominent leader in bringing about this ecclesiastical change.

The story portrays the gradual development of a distinctively "Southern" Presbyterian viewpoint and ethos, the heightening of this in the Civil War and its long aftermath, and, then, in recent decades, the steady movement back into the mainstream of American life—a kind of systole and diastole—paralleling somewhat tardily similar developments in Southern history as a whole.

Though the study attempts encyclopedic all-inclusiveness, certain distinctive themes stand out with ever-recurring emphasis. Among these themes is the ultimate modification of a "rigid Calvinism," which unfortunately is not here analyzed in depth. This type of hyper-Calvinism is seen as the chief cause of the extensive Presbyterian losses in the Kentucky revival and as defensively forcing the more serious Old School-New School Presbyterian disruption of 1837. In the case of the latter, the author skillfully interrelates important differences over slavery and ecclesiastical structure as factors also contributing to division. When Southern Presbyterians created a separate "Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America" at the outbreak of the Civil War, their inherited Old School strict Calvinism became

congealed for nearly a century, but recent decades have seen extensive modification of this along lines similar to those followed somewhat earlier by the parent national church.

Slavery and race relations are treated frankly and constructively. Religious instruction of the slaves, early started and long advocated, was increased in response to abolitionism. The author views gradual emancipation much more favorably than radical abolitionism. In spite of more favorable interpretation by some recent scholars, the author finds no merits in postwar Reconstruction, which is seen essentially as exploitation by carpetbaggers and scalawags with the help of untutored Negroes. But the author is entirely on the side of those in recent times who demand greater justice for the Negro and the ending of segregation and discrimination.

One of the most important expressions of the author's revisionism is his repeated criticism of the traditional Southern Presbyterian theory of the "spirituality" of the church. This doctrine, developed shortly before the Civil War to exclude antislavery agitation from the church, relegated all social issues to the civil sphere, leaving the church purely "spiritual." After emancipation the doctrine was retained to exclude from church discussion agitation for Negro rights. But the church's more progressive elements have, with increasing success, been demanding that the church speak out directly on justice for the black and on growing problems of industrialization and urbanization.

In spite of vigorous but numerically decreasing opposition from within, the church in recent decades has moved toward closer cooperation with national and world Christian bodies and is currently engaged in merger negotiations with its parent body, the United Presbyterian Church.

One might perhaps wish that the author had made less of an effort to "tell all" and had concentrated in even greater depth on the crucial central forces that he sets forth so clearly and knowledgeably. But it is a *magnum opus*—large in outlook, broad in sympathy, full of human interest—for which author and denomination are to be congratulated.

LEFFERTS A. LOETSCHER

*Princeton Theological Seminary*

MELVIN B. ENDY, JR. *William Penn and Early Quakerism*. [Princeton:] Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 410. \$17.50.

This book was conceived, Professor Endy tells us, as an inquiry into the effect of Quaker convictions in the forming of Pennsylvania. Finding, however, that neither the more than forty biographers of Pennsylvania's founder nor recent monographs on his social ideas and political activities have done justice to their subject's religious thought, Endy developed his study into an intellectual, specifically theological, biography of William Penn. The approach is thematic and contextual: Endy establishes the dominant motifs of Penn's thought, relates them to the ideas and impulses of the Quaker movement, and sets the whole in the context of the English Reformation. The result is far more than an addition to Pennsylvania history—finally reduced to a mere tail-piece; it is a valuable account, long needed and skillfully executed, not only of Penn's mind but of the mind—the many minds—of radical Protestantism in the England of the later Stuarts.

By the time of Penn's conversion to Quakerism the Commonwealth had failed, the nation had been officially confirmed in Anglicanism, and the nonconforming left had splintered. In a superb chapter Endy surveys the tangled bank of sectarian radicalism, not only showing how to tell a Ranter from a Seeker from a Quaker—each in several varieties—but locating for these and other fringe groups a common ancestry in the high-keyed religiosity that had powered the "spiritual brotherhood" (Endy draws here on William Haller) early in the century. Endy calls attention to the radical duality of nature and grace in the thought of the spiritualists; in this respect he emphasizes the differences between Quakerism—with its dynamic evangelicalism, its inner-light individualism, its universalism, and its rejection of the formulas of conditional covenant and preparation for salvation—and the more rationalistic forms of puritanism, thus proposing to revise the views of such scholars as Geoffrey Nuttall and Hugh Barbour in whose writings the puritan origins and relations of the Quakers are stressed.

Limits of space preclude extended comment on Endy's interpretation, although it may be worth remarking that his definition of "puritanism" leaves something to be desired in point of clarity and that in several respects Penn seems rather more "puritan" than Endy is prepared to admit. Such reservations aside, it is enough to observe that this learned and penetrating study fills a hole in our knowledge of Penn and both extends and amends our understanding of the Radical Reformation.

In addition, it amply fulfills the author's hope that the work "can serve as a guide to Penn sources for students of colonial history, English religious thought, and Quakerism" (p. 383).

MICHAEL MCGIFFERT

*Institute of Early American History  
and Culture*

*The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729.* Volume 1, 1674-1708; volume 2, 1709-1729. Newly edited from the manuscript at the Massachusetts Historical Society by M. HALSEY THOMAS. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 1973. Pp. xxxvii, 612; xii, 614-1254. \$30.00 the set.

The extensive journal of Samuel Sewall, first published by the Massachusetts Historical Society almost a century ago, has long provided an invaluable source of data for colonial scholars. Although Sewall has been compared with the English diarist Samuel Pepys, the literary quality of Sewall's writing never reaches that of Pepys. Nevertheless, Sewall's journal offers an extremely entertaining, informative, and intimate description of the man and his times. As a Harvard graduate, wealthy merchant-landowner, influential Massachusetts magistrate, and a member of Boston's prestigious South Church, Sewall was a part of the Bay Colony's Puritan aristocracy, yet his entries from 1674 to 1729 describe both momentous and commonplace events. Thus, he recorded such prominent episodes as King Philip's War, the Salem Witch Trials, the political squabbles between the Mathers and Governor Joseph Dudley, and at the same time such mundane matters as planting trees, the arrival of spring swallows, funerals, and church services. The entries also reveal much of Sewall's personality. He was a pious, self-critical, opinionated individual who was constantly aware of the transitory nature of life and the consequent urgency of seeking God's protection. He was theologically conservative and intolerant of dissenters, yet humanist qualities were reflected in his opposition to slavery and concern for dispossessed Indians. (Pride in his American environment was apparent in his rebuke to one woman who audaciously called New England "filthy.") Overall, the journal presents a fascinating portrait of New England society during the transitional period from King Philip's War to the eve of the Great Awakening.

The present two-volume edition of the Sewall diary is a first-rate work. After many years of careful research, Mr. Thomas has succeeded

in eclipsing the Massachusetts Historical Society's expurgated and circumscribed version. Besides the completeness of this transcription, Thomas's work also presents well-documented and comprehensive annotations that amplify significant items from the text. Thomas elaborates upon many of Sewall's hundreds of identifications of individuals and descriptions of events: he offers a provocative analysis of the scanty notations of Sewall's judicial role in the witchcraft trials, and he uses Sewall's reactions to the losses of most of his fourteen children and his beloved wife, Hannah, to exemplify the spiritual manner in which Puritans accepted death. Supplementing the text and annotations, the volumes contain an explanatory preface, several relevant illustrations, and appendixes that include an updated genealogical section, a record of Sewall's published writings, a listing of imprints made during his management of the Boston printing press, and a reprinting of Sewall's notable antislave tract, *The Selling of Joseph*. Individuals examining colonial New England should be deeply indebted to Mr. Thomas for his superb reproduction of this venerable manuscript.

SHELDON S. COHEN  
Loyola University,  
Chicago

JACOB JUDD and IRWIN H. POLISHOOK, editors. *Aspects of Early New York Society and Politics*. Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow Restorations. 1974. Pp. viii, 150. \$7.50.

In this slim volume are four formal papers, four brief comments about them (introductions by the editors and critiques by Lawrence Leder and Jackson Turner Main), and a sparkling address by Richard Morris, "The Revolution Comes to John Jay." Together they constitute the proceedings, amplified by footnotes, portraits, maps, and even a brief further readings list, of a conference sponsored by Sleepy Hollow Restorations and the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Tarrytown, New York, in October 1971. The book's editors organized the program on that occasion.

Chronologically the papers range from Thomas Archdeacon's study, "The Age of Leisler—New York City, 1689–1710," to Edwin Burrows's, "Military Experience and the Origins of Federalism and Antifederalism," with Patricia Bonomi's essay, "Local Government in Colonial New York," analyzing the board of trustees of Kingston from 1711 to 1776. More historiographical in content is Milton Klein's

"New York in the American Colonies: A New Look." Klein complains that historians have neglected early New York despite the relevance of its heterogeneous character to modern America. He blames fondness for the "homogeneous, rural Arcadia" of colonial Virginia and Massachusetts for this "historical amnesia."

Archdeacon identifies the polyglot character of New York City as the key to Leisler's movement. His analysis of ethnic background, age, scale of wealth, and occupation of the electorate of 1701 suggests ethnicity as the most important factor in voting behavior. Leislerianism, bearing "an unmistakable Dutch aura," revealed the resentments of those unable to adjust to "the Anglicization of the city."

Bonomi's paper bears even more directly upon Klein's theme by challenging charges that the "aristocratic" politics of colonial New York were not relevant to the mainstream of American development. Of Kingston's 148 freeholders in 1728, sixty-one served on the township board of trustees at some time. In a brief comparison with local government in England, Kingston is judged superior in vigor and good repute among its citizens as well as broad-based participation. In New York, then, as well as in the New England town and the Virginia parish, a "base for republicanism" was in formation.

The briefer Burrows study offers another statistical analysis. The 103 candidates for New York State's 1788 convention on the Federal Constitution are the subjects, and Burrows finds a "pronounced correlation between Antifederalism and militia experience . . . [and] between Federalism and service in the Continental Army."

If Klein's complaint has merit, these proceedings constitute an interesting if tentative promise of amelioration.

JOHN F. ROCHE  
Fordham University

RICHARD WARCH. *School of the Prophets: Yale College, 1701–1740*. (The Yale Scene. University Series, 2.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 339. \$15.00.

The eighteenth-century history of Yale College has been served well in recent years by biographies of Thomas Clap and Ezra Stiles. The present volume provides an excellent, even-handed interpretation of the years before Clap's turbulent presidency and the Great Awakening, which was responsible for so many of his and Yale's difficulties. Even more important, as much of the story has been told before, Richard



Warch places Yale's development within the social and ecclesiastical context of western New England.

Warch acknowledges his debts to earlier historians of the college, and, when he disagrees with them, he does so with gentle firmness. Clap's politically inspired tale of the collegiate school having been created by Connecticut ministers before the charter is demolished. The influence of the Mathers and other Massachusetts men on Yale is minimized without being ignored. The college was founded in a larger reformed tradition and did not derive from a single source.

The central point in the study is, as might be expected, the apostasy of Rector Timothy Cutler in 1722, only shortly after the school had finally settled in New Haven. The appearance of Anglicanism in Connecticut placed Yale and the whole presbyterial-Congregational establishment on the defensive, the more so as Samuel Johnson, a Yale man and apostate, remained nearby. The result was a drawing back into ancient orthodoxy so that the rectorship of Elisha Williams, which finally brought stability to the college, was one that emphasized adherence to the strictest standards of the Westminster Confession.

While Warch does not find early development of true Arminianism in Connecticut (except for a growing number of Anglicans), he argues that Yale unwittingly contributed to an emphasis on works and man's role in his own salvation. The ancient covenant theology of William Ames and Johan Wollebius existed in tension in the curriculum from the twenties onward with philosophical ethics and rational metaphysics. In comparison with Harvard's growing latitudinarianism, however, Yale remained orthodox. Her clerical graduates divided almost evenly between Old and New Lights during the Great Awakening but provided much of the leadership for the New.

Warch is no academic filiopietist and makes no undue claims for his subject. Education at Yale was English in spirit but not in quality. The college in New Haven was not a match for Edinburgh, the English universities, or the Dissenting academies, and her students learned Locke and Newton not from reading the originals but at second hand from tutors.

Warch's study fills a major gap in the history of colonial education and contributes significantly to the history of latter-day Puritanism in the critical years immediately preceding the Great Awakening. Even more significantly his analysis of the internal strains in the educa-

tional process give promise of a larger work on eighteenth-century higher education.

GEORGE F. FRICK  
University of Delaware

STEPHEN E. PATTERSON. *Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts*. [Madison:] University of Wisconsin Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 299. \$12.50.

Political dissension, to the point of taking shape as political parties, persisted in Revolutionary Massachusetts, despite the rhetoric of the political leaders in appealing to unity. The internal revolution was a more pressing reality than the Revolution itself.

Much has been written on the emergent party system in Massachusetts, perhaps the most politically oriented of the thirteen states; and the theory of democracy versus the Revolution is, of course, old hat. But Professor Patterson superbly delineates the powerful ground swell for democratic revolution in Massachusetts and yet the inability of the people en masse to succeed in party formation and in bloc domination of the legislature and the constitutional conventions. The radical tone of the resolutions of early county conventions reflected a dissipated energy. The author has digested the interpretations of numerous other studies on Massachusetts politics and republicanism during the Revolutionary era. He suggests, however, that republicanism and appeals for principles of the Revolution were not very sincere but rather a means of settling who should rule at home. Coastal conservatives saw in the Revolutionary ideology the opportunity to thwart the demands for reform from a backcountry and rural constituency.

Patterson is more concerned with the external responses and protests of partisan towns to key issues than with probing in depth their voting behavioral patterns, which several other writers have tried to do and which is difficult at best on the legislative level because of the lack of records of roll call votes during the provincial congresses. He has constructed, however, the legislative voting records of the towns for the period of 1757-64, denoting the stand on selected issues according to "Court" and "Country" party towns. Other tabulation is useful in identifying personnel in the legislature and constitutional conventions, their other office holding, representation by towns, petitions, classification of towns according to their reaction to the Constitution of 1780, and the reaction of town responses to leading issues.

The treatment in the early chapters of the



transition from the corporatism of early eighteenth-century political life in the towns to an intertown political awareness is brilliant. The colonial historian will particularly find of interest the discussion on the intellectual and constitutional sources of partisanship in eighteenth-century Massachusetts.

Although Massachusetts politics during the Revolution retained to a large degree the character of "ins" versus "outs," definite political issues appeared that contributed toward a party alignment in the modern sense. The growth of a propertied working class, evolution of the commercial classes, and political corruption all aided in changing the "Country" party into a party of internal revolution. Patterson traces the rise and decline of a popular party that seemed to take hold at the beginning of the Revolution in the county conventions and provincial congresses, only to become divided by the time of the constitutional conventions of 1778-80 because of sectional, economic, social, and ideological differences. The movement in over one hundred Massachusetts towns for bringing government closer to the people failed because of insufficient organization and ineffectual leadership. The state's ruling groups, the Adamses and the Hancockites, for different reasons, and the eastern conservatives had their way in turning the clock back to a corporatist society. But animosity engendered over the issues—including paper money, the courts, representation, militia organization, and the kind of constitution—left scars. If the counterrevolutionaries seemed to prevail in establishing a new unity and consensus there was a deep-seated political discord; an antipartisan theory belied a partisan reality, which paved the way for a more definite political structure during the late 1780s and the Federal era.

This study will be very useful to students and teachers alike in the understanding of Revolutionary politics in Massachusetts. It is well written and researched substantially in the legislative and convention records and in the correspondence of leading figures. But since the book deals primarily with local versus central control, agrarian versus mercantile interests, east versus west, democracy versus the Revolution, or simply liberty versus authority, there could have been wider use of town records and a greater relation to the war effort itself in its effect on politics. Only rarely in Patterson's work does the Revolution intrude on the lives of the people of Massachusetts. Such undoubtedly was the case as Patterson would have it.

But it does raise the question of a neglected area in the internal history of the Revolution.

HARRY M. WARD

*University of Richmond*

ROBERT MCCLUER CALHOON. *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781*. (The Founding of the American Republic.) New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1973. Pp. xviii, 580. \$17.50.

Loyalism was for a long time a dreary subject. Aside from a few biographies and Moses Coit Tyler's fine chapters on loyalist writing, the histories were no more than biographical scraps strung together with apologetics. In the past decade or so, historians began to see that to dismiss or condemn the Tories was to limit understanding of the Revolution. The change is marked by William H. Nelson's *American Tory*, published in 1962. Soon after, a second and livelier impetus was given to the field, albeit indirectly, by the major re-examination of the Revolution that began in the mid-1960s. If, as Bernard Bailyn and others argued, the origins of the Revolution are located in a body of libertarian beliefs radically reshaped by political experience, the immunity of large numbers of men to that ideological transformation becomes a significant problem. While loyalism as a central subject has not yet attracted so many or so gifted scholars as has the movement toward revolution, numbers of monographs have now been written and the field is well established.

Robert M. Calhoon has undertaken to summarize and to synthesize this new body of loyalist scholarship. His summary is thorough and industrious; his failure to achieve a satisfactory synthesis can be ascribed in part to the field itself. Two sorts of problems have interested scholars, and they bear no logical relation to each other. One, which reflects the preoccupations of the ideological school, is the study of loyalist assumptions, attitudes, and political roles. The other, which picks up the newer theme of the history of the inarticulate, is an effort to find out who the loyalist ranks were and what happened to them. It would be difficult to put these two kinds of research together, but Calhoon's attempt suggests that what is impeding even preliminary cohesion is a lingering residue of patriotic bias against those who opposed independence.

In his preface Calhoon says that he has sought "to make the loyalists intelligible and comprehensible." Such a statement shows that like

almost every historian of loyalism before him, Calhoun assumes that it was normal to be for the Revolution and therefore abnormal—unintelligible and incomprehensible—to be against it. Thus the loyalists must be polar opposites of the revolutionaries. Following the now-dominant argument about the causative force of radical ideas, Calhoun sees loyalist ideology as its mirror image. The model is a dynamic one, and thus Calhoun posits three developmental stages: beginning in 1765, the enunciation of principle; in 1767–69 and again in 1774–75, the search for accommodation; finally, late in 1774 through early 1776, an appeal to doctrine. A series of biographical sketches illustrates each stage, but the stages are not as clear-cut as Calhoun would have them. The first and third—principle and doctrine—blur together; the men of the second stage—the accommodators—were primarily concerned not with ideas but with political arrangements. Many of the sketches are admirable but change does not emerge from them. What they do reveal, rather, is how firmly the men described held in 1776 to the political beliefs that prevailed throughout the colonies in 1765. The developmental model is clearly inapplicable to loyalist ideology.

In much the same mechanical way, Calhoun searched for an ideological point where the loyalists directly opposed the revolutionaries. He found it in what he describes as the loyalists' "total antipathy to popular political activity and expressions of discontent." If this is truly the distinguishing mark of a Tory, then the patriots would have had to smile upon something resembling participatory democracy. The political public, to be sure, expanded during the Revolutionary era as it had through the century, though now in crisis at a more rapid rate. But patriot leaders were not modern populists, and the Revolutionary expansion of the political public did not reverse eighteenth-century elitism. The United States was founded as a republic and did not begin to become a democracy until at least two generations later.

This insistence upon an antithetical pattern confuses Calhoun's discussion of loyalist ideology and cannot be maintained at all in the second half of his book, whose subject is the "opponents or victims of the Revolution." Here all effort at synthesis breaks down. There is a chapter on Barnstable, Massachusetts, for example, a town where half the inhabitants voted against independence. Calhoun explains this split by saying there were "many in the town who resented the [Otis] family's wealth and success, distrusted James, Jr.'s past identification with

the Boston radicals, and in a typical eighteenth-century manner coalesced instinctively against those in power." If such behavior is typical and instinctive, why did it only evidence itself in Barnstable?

In making the recent scholarship easily accessible, Calhoun has served the history of the loyalists well, but until historians move beyond the polarization that sets conservatism and orthodoxy against enlightenment and progress, the accumulation of new materials will not deepen our understanding of why so many men, almost indistinguishable from their fellows before 1776, argued and fought against independence.

BEATRICE K. HOFSTADTER  
New York City

K. G. DAVIES, editor. *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783 (Colonial Office Series)*. Volume 1, *Calendar, 1770–1771*; volume 2, *Transcripts, 1770*; volume 3, *Transcripts, 1771*. New York: Irish University Press, 1973. Pp. 523; 331; 302. \$39.00; \$32.50; \$32.50.

These are the first three volumes to appear in a projected twenty-volume series designed to draw together the surviving Colonial Office correspondence respecting North America during the American Revolution. The subject is imperial administration—from the correspondence, broadly considered, of the secretary of state for America, the editor attempts to recreate "the situation in which the administrator in Whitehall was placed." For the years 1770 and 1771, 2,984 documents (including 1,223 enclosures) are calendared in volume 1; and of these, 143 and 138 are fully transcribed in volumes 2 and 3 respectively. The editorial work, of selecting and providing physical descriptions of documents in the calendar and accurate transcripts for volumes 2 and 3, is well done.

The core of the work is the American secretary's letters to and from the colonial governors and the commander in chief, plus the Indian superintendents, surveyors, and other lesser officials in America; but it also embraces letters between the American department and other departments in London: Admiralty, Treasury, Ordnance, War Office, and other secretaries of state. In volume 1 the editor has also provided useful summaries of the distribution of this material in the Public Record Office, tables of the various Colonial Office series and volumes covered, lists of principal royal officers in North America, and a discussion of editorial methods employed in the undertaking. And each

of the transcript volumes contains brief narratives of the chief developments affecting the empire that are covered in the correspondence selected for publication.

Although the task of choosing documents meriting transcription is inevitably a subjective one, most users will have few quarrels with the selections in volumes 2 and 3. The editor has an excellent grasp of the significant events of 1770-71, and his introductions adequately explain the context of the correspondence. Many will be disappointed that more transcriptions have not been published, and that consideration was not given to the availability of these letters in other publications, especially since limitation of space was obviously an important factor in the production of these slim volumes. Nevertheless, the editor and publishers of this work deserve our applause for bringing a vast treasure of research materials within the reach of every library that aspires to promote the serious study of the American Revolution.

PAUL H. SMITH  
Library of Congress

NORTH CALLAHAN. *George Washington: Soldier and Man*. New York: William Morrow and Company. 1972. Pp. xiii, 296. \$7.95.

RICHARD B. MORRIS. *Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny: The Founding Fathers as Revolutionaries*. New York: Harper and Row. 1973. Pp. 334. \$8.95.

In their own way these two volumes represent extremes in historical scholarship. Mr. Callahan's study of Washington is a mistake. It offers little to the general reader, who would benefit more from Curtis Nettels's *George Washington and American Independence* (1951), and it affronts the specialist who must continue to rely on Douglas Southall Freeman's seven-volume *George Washington* (1948-57) or James T. Flexner's multivolume study in progress.

So little has Mr. Callahan understood Washington or his times that he makes such statements as: "The ancestors of George Washington had sired a progeny which was to extend into the New World and lessen to a considerable degree the extent of the British Empire" (p. 2); Washington "encountered some Pennsylvania-German settlers who impressed him as being quite ignorant and unable to express themselves in understandable language," without suggesting that Washington did not speak German (p. 4); Washington "usually felt awkward among them [ladies], perhaps because of his height, his size and especially his big hands and

feet," (pp. 5-6), but "his imposing physical characteristics doubtless gave him tremendous confidence in himself" (p. 6), even though "he never seemed to have great confidence in his own ability as a soldier" (p. 18).

Mr. Morris's volume differs markedly. A combination of deep research, sharp wit, and a touch of iconoclasm marks this study of the psychological features of Franklin, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Jay, Madison, and Hamilton. Morris is drawn to these figures as human beings, and in treating them he makes their humanity apparent without detracting from their accomplishments.

One problem to which Mr. Morris is seeking answers is why our age has not spawned the same quality of leadership as the Revolution, and seemingly cannot. His evaluation is a pessimistic one: "It would be unrealistic to expect that an age of conformity such as our own would be likely to spawn that creative individualism that marked the leadership of the American Revolutionary era" (p. 3). Among other reasons, Mr. Morris attacks our "age of materialism," our uncongenial climate for intellectuals, and the perversions of technological communications media. America once had a "fortuitous conjunction of character and destiny"; now it needs honest figures, not charismatic ones.

Regardless of the merits of this basic premise Mr. Morris has presented an entertaining and instructive examination of the Founding Fathers, one that elevates their humanity without demeaning their accomplishments. As a tool for enticing students into a study of the Revolutionary era, Mr. Morris's volume has real value.

LAWRENCE H. LEDER  
Lehigh University

HUGH F. RANKIN. *Francis Marion: The Swamp Fox*. (Leaders of the American Revolution Series.) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1973. Pp. xv, 346. \$10.00.

This, the first full-scale modern biography of Francis Marion, separates fact from fiction concerning the career of one of the best-known guerrilla fighters of the American Revolution. Dubbed the "Swamp Fox" by the British themselves, Marion emerged as a folk hero during the ebb tide of the Revolution in the South. The fall of Charleston to the British on May 12, 1780, was followed in August by the disastrous defeat of an American army at Camden. All semblance of state government in South Carolina disappeared and all the ugly aspects of

civil war began to show themselves. The British resorted to terror to subdue the remnants of resistance; there were patriots against Tories, Tories divided and informing on one another, and just plain criminals roaming the countryside and plundering the populace at will. Acting as a leader of small bands of militia, Marion harried the British supply lines, threatened their outposts, and, according to his own views, righted wrongs.

Until the appearance of this reliable account, it was difficult to make an assessment of the significance of Marion's exploits. The first biography did not appear until the early part of the nineteenth century. Peter Horry, who served under Marion, produced a life that made some use of documents but that relied mainly on the memories of those who knew Marion. Unable to find a publisher, Horry somehow made the acquaintance of "Parson" Weems whose recently published life of Washington was rapidly becoming a best seller. Since he was casting about for yet another Revolutionary hero on whom to exercise his vivid imagination and neoclassical literary style, Weems undertook to rewrite Horry's account. What emerged was a knight in shining armor, a "Washington of the South." Totally disregarding the chasm that separated the relative importance of the two leaders, Weems concluded that it was "difficult to determine whether Marion or Washington most deserves our admiration." The legend thus created would not die. Nearly half a century later the South Carolina poet-novelist, William Gilmore Simms, found Weems's biography a fable for babes and undertook to write a book more suitable for adults of his time. Although Simms added some substance, the portrait that he presented was hardly less idealized than that of Weems. In recent years the nineteenth-century romances have been corrected—at least obliquely—by some good local history and by reliable military studies of various facets of the war in the South. Rankin, however, is the first professionally trained historian to examine in detail the entire military career of Marion. Since there are few personal manuscripts, the story had to be pieced together from related—but widely scattered—documents and collections. Rankin has spared no effort to search out all the available evidence on both sides of the Atlantic.

The product of this painstaking research is a realistic but not a debunking biography. Marion served continuously from the beginning to the end of the war. His military career consisted of both normal or conventional service as an

officer in the Continental Army and service in irregular warfare as an officer of the South Carolina militia. As a Continental officer he took part in the defense of Charleston in 1776 and served capably, but not outstandingly, until 1780 when, owing to an accident in which he broke his ankle, he was convalescing in the back country when Charleston fell to the British. With only general directions from the governor, Marion acted alone for a few months as a militia officer. Rankin concludes that Marion "was a natural partisan leader and was able to utilize a relatively small striking force to its greatest potential—his primary weapon was surprise. His greatest strength was in keeping his men well-mounted thereby frustrating the designs of a superior force to bring him to a decisive action and destroy him" (p. 298). The author makes it clear, however, that Marion's operations were small scale and scattered, that his efforts were ably supplemented by Thomas Sumter, Andrew Pickens, and other partisan leaders in the South, and that battles such as King's Mountain and the Cowpens had far greater effect on the larger picture. As for the legend that he dispensed even-handed justice to friend and foe alike, Rankin concludes "Francis Marion was no knight in shining armor for his operations often have a stamp of ruthlessness when he considered such a course necessary" (p. 299).

HARRY L. COLES  
*Ohio State University*

L. H. BUTTERFIELD and MARC FRIEDLAENDER, editors. *Adams Family Correspondence*. Volume 3, *April 1778–September 1780*; volume 4, *October 1780–September 1782*; *Index*. (The Adams Papers, Second Series.) Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. lvii, 426; xvii, 472. \$32.50 the set.

The richness of the Adams Papers is again apparent in this installment. Since John Adams was in Europe and young John Quincy Adams was with him during most of the timespan covered, while Abigail remained in Braintree, there was plenty of occasion for writing. Consequently we have here an exceptionally profuse exchange of letters among members of the family. Taken together, the four volumes now in print are as full a domestic correspondence as exists for eighteenth-century America, and the wisdom of bringing them out as a separate series becomes apparent. Although the letters touch constantly on public affairs—the Silas Deane controversy, wartime inflation, the rela-



tions of Congress with its ministers—John Adams was too obsessed with the fear of his letters being intercepted to put much political news, or indeed much of any news, into them. The value of the correspondence lies accordingly in the opportunity it offers for probing the character of human relations, especially domestic relations, during the period.

What stands out is the formality, not to say preciosity, with which husbands, wives, children, relatives, and intimate friends addressed one another. A hortatory tone was almost compulsory. Even children felt called upon to insert little homilies into the simplest communication. Abigail, who dominates the correspondence not only by the bulk of her letters but also by the quality of mind exhibited in them, will occasionally break forth in spontaneous angry exclamations, against John for not writing often enough or fully enough (had he “changed Hearts with some frozen Laplander?”) or against Franklin (“False insinuating disembling wretch”). But such outbursts are few. Although she obviously chafes at the purely domestic role assigned her, she is the soul of propriety. Her numerous letters to James Lovell are surely as discreet an epistolary flirtation as any lady ever engaged in. And the replies she received from Lovell and from her other principal correspondent, John Thaxter, are equally though differently conventional (and without the benefit of her wit). Lovell in particular affected a tiresome, whimsical facetiousness in the manner of Laurence Sterne, evidently intended as the right posture for a gentleman of high fashion to take with a lady. John Adams was much less inhibited than other gentlemen by literary conventions, and the reader is likely to be as impatient with him as Abigail was for not writing more fully. One is also inclined to blame his neglect for the fact that she should have wasted so many words on the likes of James Lovell.

The most pathetic figure in the correspondence is John Quincy Adams, who regularly reports to his parents his relentless progress in learning every available language and reading every available book. He receives in return regular admonitions to do more and to curb his “impetuosity of temper.” As the editors sagely observe, he was obliged to become a man before he had finished boyhood. One might almost say that he never had a chance to begin it.

The Adamses were doubtless an unusual family, but they were closely attuned to contemporary American values. Their very ambition made them so in a country where a public ca-

reer depended on pleasing the public. The letters will thus bear close study as a repository of those values. The editors have taken pains to make their annotations fit the character of the correspondence. They supply us with the information for understanding the tone as well as the content of the letters. And the index to the volumes is a work of art in itself. The renewed interest among historians in the history of the family should receive a considerable impetus from this extraordinary record, so skillfully presented.

EDMUND S. MORGAN  
Yale University

FREDERICK W. MARKS III. *Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 256. \$10.00.

This book is a modest survey of American diplomacy in the Confederation era, and an analysis of the effect of foreign affairs on the creation and adoption of the Constitution. It is competently researched, logically organized, and rather gracefully written. It is also something of a disappointment.

This subject has never before been treated in depth. Historians of the Critical Era and diplomatic historians treating later developments have scanned America's foreign affairs in this period, but Professor Marks has organized this scattered information into one convenient volume and added some new detail of his own. For this he deserves our thanks. Unfortunately, however, he has failed in his stated aim “to go beyond factual narrative and to open new avenues of thought.” Certainly there is little that is new or startling here.

The basic theme of the book is that previous historians have given too little emphasis to the role of America's perilous diplomatic situation in the movement for a stronger national government. This may be true, although no historians have failed to mention it and none have doubted that it was of vital importance at least to the Federalists. Unfortunately, Marks's attempt to prove what needs little proof leads to a somewhat one-sided and bombastic presentation. A concentration on foreign affairs to the exclusion of domestic and ideological considerations cannot help but lead to the conclusion that a stronger national government was desirable. But Marks overdoes it, and his book takes on an almost Fiskean tone.

A different thesis might have permitted the author to concentrate on some of the more



promising points that emerge from his book. He claims that British trade restrictions affected the economy and mood of the American people more than historians like Merrill Jensen have allowed. The evidence Marks offers for this, unfortunately, is drawn almost exclusively from the well-known works of Curtis Nettles and Lowell Ragatz. I think Marks is right, and it is valuable to have the question reviewed as he has done, but some extensive and original probing might have made his case more solid.

Marks also challenges the importance of Shay's Rebellion in the movement for the Constitution. Even while denigrating its significance, however, he says that its impact had at least something to do with foreign affairs, in that many people blamed British subversion for instigation of the rebellion. But it is impossible to tell from the few snippets of information the author presents how widespread this suspicion was. Marks goes on to point out that the friends of the Constitution differed from their opponents not only in socioeconomic status, but also in their experience and knowledge of foreign affairs. The evidence offered, however, is simply a list of names. There is no attempt at a statistical analysis of this point, as historians of the domestic side of the Constitutional debate have been able to offer. This lack of precise analysis also leaves in doubt his interesting claim that the South welcomed rather than resisted federal control of foreign commerce, fearing only taxes on exports and slaves.

Still, this is a solid and valuable work. The diplomatic situation is clearly outlined, and previously scattered information conveniently organized. Perhaps Marks is now in a position to go on to the more precise analysis this era requires.

JERALD A. COMBS  
San Francisco State University

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., general editor. *History of U.S. Political Parties*. Volume 1, 1789-1860: *From Factions to Parties*; volume 2, 1860-1910: *The Gilded Age of Politics*; volume 3, 1910-1945: *From Square Deal to New Deal*; volume 4, 1945-1972: *The Politics of Change*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, in association with R. R. Bowker Company, New York. 1973. Pp. liv, 882; xiii, 885-1807; xii, 1811-2669; xi, 2673-3544. \$135.00 the set.

These volumes contain twenty-six essays by twenty-five authors, plus an introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr. With the exception of the editor's introduction, each essay focuses on a single political party over an extended

period of time. While most of the essays examine major parties, there is an essay on the important minor parties in American history. In each case, the emphasis is on presidential politics and parties.

With few exceptions, the essays tend to reflect the current state of his toric scholarship on the history of American political parties, as each author is a recognized authority on his or her subject. A few of our best scholars (i.e., Lee Benson, Walter Dean Burnham, William Chambers, Richard McCormick) on American political parties, however, did not participate in the enterprise, and their work is inadequately reflected in the essays. Just as a historical knowledge of political parties is uneven, so too is there variability in the quality of the essays. The best essays are those by Michael Holt on the Antimasonic and Know Nothing parties, David Donald on the Republican party 1864-76, Paul Kleppner on the Greenback and Prohibition parties, and Richard Wade on the Democratic party, 1960-72.

All of the essays might have been longer—and therefore more informative—were it not for the fact that each is accompanied by numerous documents (speeches, party platforms, editorials, etc.) that are well known to the specialist and that unfortunately consume considerable space. Even so, the essays reveal a great deal about present-day historical scholarship. They clearly demonstrate that there is little agreement among political historians either about the concepts they employ or over the questions they wish to raise about parties. For this reason, it becomes rather difficult to assess whether we are advancing in an understanding of American political parties or whether we are simply accumulating at a rather rapid rate a potpourri of disparate, non-cumulative information. When Hans L. Trejousse raises quite different questions about the Republican party during the period 1854-64 from those raised by William Harbaugh in his analysis of the Republican party 1893-1932, it is unclear in what respects the functions and the structure of either the party or the political system changed over time. One might make the same type of remark about all other essays in the volumes. In other words, the essays are poorly related conceptually and theoretically to one another. And because political historians have not been very explicit in defining the conceptual framework within which the history of parties might be explored, these essays have little potential for advancing an understanding of party development.

Schlesinger's introductory essay has some of this potential, but it too seems unrelated conceptually to the other essays. I hope the following comments will make a modest contribution to clarifying some of our conceptual confusion.

Most of these essays, like much of our party literature, assume that American political parties may be analyzed by focusing primarily on presidential party politics. The American party system, however, has been a loose confederation of local and state parties. Every four years they have met collectively to choose national candidates and to write a platform, leaving behind an enfeebled presidential party organization. But the presidential party structure has been only one of many—and it has certainly not been the heart and substance of party politics. Indeed, the state and local organizations have historically not been subordinated to some higher party authority.

As we attempt to comprehend the vast number of parties since the 1790s, perhaps we should begin by typing them into two broad classes according to their goals: parties that emphasize their programs over all other considerations and parties that are constituency oriented. The programmatic party has historically been primarily concerned with sharpening issues and with educating the electorate on policy matters, whereas the constituency-oriented party has been primarily concerned with maximizing the size of the popular vote at the expense of clarifying issues. As most parties have both of these goals, the distinction between the two classes is a matter of degree, with minor parties in American history tending to be programmatic types and major parties constituent oriented.

Having typed parties into these two broad classes, it would next be useful to analyze them according to their functions and structures. While there is no definitive list of political functions, there are nevertheless at least five basic functions that political systems perform: (1) they structure the vote by sharpening distinctions among candidates, programs, and organizations; (2) they articulate as well as channel the demands of various groups into policy alternatives; (3) they participate in the formulation and implementation of policy as well as in adjudication of conflicts; (4) they participate in the recruitment of political leadership; and (5) they play an important role in the communication function—the linking of elites and masses, the integration of the various structures of government, and the socialization of groups into the political culture.

By failing to focus systematically on the functions of parties, these essays are not very informative about the changing role of parties in the American political system over time. By emphasizing functions, however, we are better prepared to assess the importance of parties at any one point in time. In other words, a functional approach helps us to determine the extent to which it is worth our while to study parties. Whereas American parties once dominated most of the five functions, their influence over these functions has become less important in recent years. And as scholars focus attention on the American political system during the period after 1900, they probably will have a better understanding of the American political system if they concentrate on functions and processes rather than exclusively on the institution of parties—for it is institutions other than parties that increasingly fulfill these five functions.

As long as we focus on parties, however, we want to be sensitive only to their functions but also to their structures. And we would be well advised to develop a set of concepts with which we can compare the structure of one party with another and with which we can assess the change in structure of a particular party over time. Without such a set of concepts, it becomes particularly difficult to specify the criteria by which party structures vary. And because the authors of these essays do not share analytic concepts, the various discussions of party structural characteristics are relatively unrelated to one another. Of course, there are implicit in the essays some vague notions of the formal properties of party organizations, but for purposes of future studies, perhaps it will be useful to be explicit about the six basic properties by which party structures vary. They are (1) the level of stratification, which refers to the distribution of rewards between those at the top and the bottom of a party organization and to the difficulty in moving from the bottom to the top of the party structure; (2) the level of complexity, which refers to the number of specified roles within the party structure, especially to the degree of professionalism within a party; (3) the permeability of party organization, which refers to the ease with which new ideas and new members are welcome to a party organization; (4) the intermittency of party structure, which refers to the degree of permanency in party organizations. Thus the presidential party organization is essentially a temporary phenomenon, generally assembled every four years—especially the party out of

power—whereas the party machines of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had an element of permanency to them; (5) the level of participation, which refers to the degree to which party members participate in decision making and elite recruitment. Thus a party primary obviously provides a much higher level of participation than an organization that recruits its leaders by a caucus held in a “smoke filled room”; (6) the degree of formalization, which refers to the degree of codification of rules and procedures in a party organization. The greater the number of rules about recruitment, financing, participation, etc., the higher the level of formalization.

Had the authors of these essays been in greater agreement on the functions and formal properties by which parties vary, their description of political parties would have been much richer. Moreover, they would have been better able to describe the boundaries between political parties and the rest of the political system. But ultimately, we should move beyond sheer description of the processes of change to a different level of analysis. And here we might use our concepts as either dependent or independent variables. Viewing parties as dependent variables, scholars might specify the conditions under which there is variation in their structural characteristics—i.e., the level of participation, complexity, etc. Studies elsewhere by M. Ostrogorski, James C. Scott, and Paul Goodman are very useful in this respect, though the authors in these volumes have not been very receptive to this type of analysis. Historians, moreover, might treat structural characteristics as independent variables in order to explain changes in the functions of parties—the structuring of the vote, political recruitment, etc. For example, we know from previous studies that the greater the levels of stratification, complexity, and formalization of parties, the less likely electoral behavior is to be volatile. And one reason that we find greater volatility in presidential voting than in local and parties is because presidential parties are more intermittent, less complex, and less formalized. In other words, shifts in voting behavior in presidential politics are somewhat more volatile because presidential parties have more amorphous party structures. With similar strategies, we might assess the influence of varying levels of permeability, intermittency, complexity, stratification, etc. on the nature of party recruitment and public policy.

Because the essays in these volumes are conceptually weak, problems such as these are not

systematically raised. Rather, much of the discussion focuses on the role of personalities and idiosyncratic events in shaping the history of American political parties. As long as our political history sidesteps a systematic analysis of the functions and structures of political parties, we are likely to continue having an inadequate understanding of the processes influencing voting behavior, public policy, and elite recruitment.

In sum, the publishers and editor have provided us in one place a handy source for quickly ascertaining the general state of scholarship on each of the major and minor parties in American history. In doing so, they call to our attention just how little consensus there is about research problems and research strategies of political historians.

J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH  
*University of Wisconsin,  
Madison*

ALLAN R. PRED. *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840.* (Harvard Studies in Urban History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 348. \$15.00.

For more than a generation geographers have been leaving the land and invading such social sciences as demography and economics. The new field of regional science, for example, is a combination of geographic, demographic, and econometric models. But few modern geographers have explored the causes of social change in relatively remote historical periods. Allan R. Pred's book is, therefore, a pioneer study of the formative era of the business and economic patterns of American cities. Its focus, to be sure, is on flows of information and their correlation with urban growth, but the information was at least 75 per cent business news and the cities grew mainly from the resulting increase in commerce. For those interested in the growth of urban communication and travel in the first five decades of the Republic, this is the most useful and penetrating study that has appeared.

Pred's abundant statistics, culled from many well-known but little-used sources, show the changing quantities of business news and travelers between the major cities of the nation and the time consumed for each type of exchange. Collectively these explain the rank order in population, not only of the great east coast seaports, but of practically all other urban centers as well. The fact that in 1817 an isoline represent-

ing five days of travel from New York City embraced Norfolk, Syracuse, and Portsmouth, whereas the same isoline from Philadelphia reached only from Richmond to Hartford and New London, goes far to explain the ascendancy of New York. The better ocean harbor and water communications of the latter put it in command of the distribution of both European news and goods. A minor criticism of Pred's generally admirable trade-flow estimates is that using common carrier costs does not correctly reveal the area or extent of inland wagon transportation. As Lewis Atherton has shown in *Southern Country Store, 1800-1860*, a farmer with nothing pressing to do after harvest would hitch a horse or mule to a wagon and take crops long distances to market, camping along the way and carrying feed for the animal, at no out-of-pocket expense.

Pred offers an interesting and persuasive model for the growth of commercial cities. It shows how mercantile investment begets increases in trade and some light industries that together tend to maintain the rank order created initially by geographic factors. In elaborating his model he notes a fact often overlooked, that real estate and construction profits fed back into the expansion and increasing specialization of facilities for trade. Whether or not from the causes he assigns, long-run population statistics bear out Pred's conclusions.

Historical readers will occasionally be bothered by the special vocabularies of geography and economics, and will think that too much time is spent demolishing theories of diffusion based on urban hierarchies arranged strictly by size. But each science has its own sacred cows and this one no doubt needs slaughtering. Historians from all fields of interest, however, should press on and learn what is in this book.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN  
*Eleutherian Mills-Hagley  
Foundation*

HAROLD C. SYRETT *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*. Volume 18, *January 1795-July 1795*; volume 19, *July 1795-December 1795*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973. Pp. xvi, 557; xv, 546. \$17.50 each.

Volumes 18 and 19 of *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, under the editorship of Harold C. Syrett and his associates, include Hamilton's writings for the year 1795. This work sets a high standard of scholarship. Furthermore, unlike the excessive editorial comments of the

current edition of the Jefferson papers, the editors here illuminate but do not obtrude. Some pertinent correspondence to Hamilton is also presented either in whole or in summary.

The period of 1795 marks three principal areas of Hamilton's work. In the first place, he completes his service as secretary of the treasury. One of the concluding papers of this period of service is his final report of recommendations concerning the fiscal policy of the United States. In the second place, there is the long series of articles, signed Camillus, in defense of Jay's Treaty. The third area embraces Hamilton's activities after retirement from the secretaryship in mid-1795. This includes the political and administrative correspondence with Washington and members of the national cabinet. Part of this correspondence is political, such as that soliciting votes in Congress either for funding measures, other Treasury matters, or the ratification of Jay's Treaty. Other correspondence covers the content of Washington's messages to Congress. The latter category emphasizes the continuing influence of Hamilton on public policy after he retired from the government.

This edition underscores, as did the predecessor volumes, Hamilton's efforts in time spent, in correspondence, and in newspaper articles concerned with political matters. Because earlier, more limited editions of Hamilton's writings omit many of his newspaper articles, there is a tendency among writers or prior editors who evaluate Hamilton to give less emphasis to the sheer amount of time he spent on politics. These two volumes show very well how Hamilton was not only the key political figure as the national Federalist party evolved, but he was also instrumental in directing contacts with members of Congress in aligning votes for critical measures. At the same time he was at the heart of the Federalist party operations in New York and in the management of state party affairs. He also wrote for the New York newspapers the leading articles on both Treasury policy and foreign policy. His chief opponent, Thomas Jefferson, referred to Hamilton as a host within himself. Thus, at the time essential United States government policy was first formulated, Hamilton's papers show his key role in determining policy, molding public opinion, presenting matters for interpretation by the courts, and, finally, constructing the political party apparatus.

MANNING J. DAUER  
*University of Florida*



JOHN A. MUNROE. *Louis McLane: Federalist and Jacksonian*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 763. \$22.50.

Louis McLane is probably best known to history as the secretary of the treasury who was booted upstairs by Jackson because he was unwilling to remove the government deposits from the Bank of the United States. But this is only an incident, not quite correctly remembered, in a long and active career that is illuminated in all its ramifications in this excellent biography.

An unreconstructed Federalist, McLane entered the House of Representatives from Wilmington, Delaware, in 1817. Four years later he barely lost the Speakership to Philip P. Barbour of the Crawford faction, who promptly dispelled any rivalry by making McLane chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee. Thus encouraged, he supported Crawford in the multicandidate presidential campaign of 1824. He won a Senate seat in 1826 with Democratic support and by 1828 was in the Jackson camp. Jackson sent him as minister to England, recalled him two years later to be secretary of the treasury, then made him secretary of state in 1833. In disagreement over policy, he resigned a year later. There followed an interlude as president of the Morris Canal and Banking Company, and ten years as president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He returned to public life in 1845 to go once more as minister to England, but retained the post only until the Oregon question was settled.

Although he never achieved the first rank among the molders of nineteenth-century America, McLane left a solid mark in many areas. His Treasury Department report on manufactures remains a classic and an indispensable source for economic historians. He was a successful diplomat, a successful financier, and an unusually successful business executive. His ambition was boundless and he was indeed one who, but for historical accident, might have risen to the first rank among American statesmen. His judgment was usually sound, but he never overcame an irascible temper that merged with an instant combativeness to leave a trail of enemies in the wake of his every success. Yet he was close enough to the wellsprings of power to comment meaningfully on the events of his time. He was an indefatigable letter writer who reported in great detail to members of his family.

It was the discovery of this large family correspondence in two private collections still in the hands of descendants that made Professor

Munroe's study possible. He has used this new material, together with previously accessible sources, to add measurably to our understanding of the Jackson period, of the fascinating characters who peopled it, and of the interwoven events that swept it forward. He has given us new insight into the political and economic development of the first half of the nineteenth century in an immensely readable book, which will be invaluable to all who toil in that particular vineyard.

CHARLES M. WILTSE  
Dartmouth College

SARAH MCCULLOH LEMMON. *Frustrated Patriots: North Carolina and the War of 1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 223. \$10.50.

The title of this book is apt for it is a study not only of frustration, but of mismanagement, confusion, and chaos at all levels. Much of the ineptness and haphazardness of the national government was reflected in the state government; both came forth with grandiloquent plans that they managed to execute in a miserable fashion. This work is arranged topically, but every topic staggers under the load of ineptitude recounted therein.

North Carolina had little reason to be irritated by the usual causes of the War of 1812. Professor Lemmon sees the state's reluctant entry into the conflict on the grounds of old resentments still simmering from the American Revolution, added to what its people considered to be insult to national honor. Approximately one-fourth of the congressional delegation and one-third of the state legislature opposed the war, partly because they feared the expanding power of the executive branch of government. Expansionist sentiment was weak in the state with most politicians feeling that the invasion of Canada was a good tactic to bring Britain to a proper way of thinking; yet they feared a successful conquest of Canada would lead to an upset in the balance of power if the new territory were divided into states. On the other hand, interest was expressed in the annexation of Florida.

Military operations were a farce, although in proportion to her population, North Carolina furnished more than her share of troops. The tradition of the worth of the citizen soldier still held strong despite the rather woeful experience with the militia during the American Revolution. The primary activity was marching and countermarching almost aimlessly about the



state. Other phases of the war effort were equally lacking in direction.

Effects of the war on the state were subtle. The war destroyed an already weak Federalist party. Free "men of colour" made a slight advance when they were allowed to enlist in the militia. And in a more direct manner, North Carolina suffered from the war as the opening of the Southwest, freed from the menace of the Indians and the British, lured away many of its best people, who took with them their talents, their wealth, and their labor. For the next twenty years, the state was to sink even deeper into the doldrums, earning the nickname of the "Rip Van Winkle State."

Professor Lemmon has written a good book. Her style is straightforward and her research is a model for such studies. One could quarrel with the organization and length of paragraphs, but that would be nit-picking and this is too good a work to subject it to that treatment.

HUGH F. RANKIN  
Tulane University

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN, *Stephen A. Douglas*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 993. \$19.95.

Stephen Douglas did it all in a very short time, and then came up with next to nothing. He won his first election at the age of twenty-two, and became judge of the Illinois Supreme Court before turning thirty. The Vermont-born boy wonder zoomed up the Illinois political ladder, reaching the U.S. Senate in 1847 and achieving stature (if not height) as congressional manipulator, compromiser, presidential aspirant, and defeated Democratic candidate.

Robert Johannsen's massive, well-researched, and stodgily written biography tells us much (at times too much) about Douglas's life, yet reveals surprisingly little. Johannsen warns at the outset: "I make no claims of discovery," and remains true to his word. In almost a thousand closely packed pages of narrative and backnotes, we follow the course of a career singularly devoted to politics, one that represented last-ditch Jacksonianism and its premise that national politics should stop on this side of the slavery issue—"that dangerous distraction," in Douglas's mind. Douglas could not exorcise that devil, of course, not if he hoped to maintain a viable Illinois constituency. Popular sovereignty, Douglas's one-hoss shay, so perfect in theory and supposedly so easily applied, fell apart in the face of Northern moralism and anti-Southernism (two complementary factors of enormous im-

portance that Johannsen does not adequately assess in analyzing Douglas's career).

What sort of person emerges from these pages? It is a curiously one-dimensional politico: talented, hard working, earnestly ambitious, but limited and doggedly unadaptable. Anything but a visionary, even his high-blown rhetoric about American expansion and mission smacks of parochialism, and degenerates into calculating pugnacity. Johannsen reaffirms Douglas's high repute as an orator, citing enough admiring contemporaries to make the point. But the excerpts from speeches in Congress and on the stump leave one wondering over a previous generation's peculiar taste.

The book's principal revisionist feature is the down playing of Lincoln. No Douglas biographer can ignore his man's Whig-Republican nemesis, of course, but Johannsen has clearly chosen sides. References to encounters before the debates tend to place Lincoln in the shade. This is fine because Douglas dominated the politics of the 1850s, while Lincoln did not dominate even the politics of Illinois. But not so fine is Johannsen's reluctance to come to grips with the kind of politics that Lincoln capitalized on between the debates and the election of 1860. The rise of Republicanism seems as mysterious and distasteful a phenomenon to the author as it doubtless did to Douglas. If only sanity, good will, and mutual accommodation had prevailed. If only the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian Democratic republic had continued to exist half-slave and half-free, or maybe two-thirds free and one-third slave. Douglas tried to pull it off but could not. He remained too much of a Northerner to become a doughface, and too much of a patriot to have become anything else but a War Democrat had he lived. It all ended for Douglas in 1861 in rum, rebellion, and almost in Romanism (if his second wife had had her way).

FRANK OTTO GATELL  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

JULIA FLOYD SMITH, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973. Pp. ix, 249. \$8.50.

With only a handful of large planters and a slave population that numbered but 62,000 on the eve of the Civil War, Florida could scarcely be classified as a major plantation state. Nevertheless, in this attractive and meticulously docu-

mented monograph, Julia Floyd Smith has provided useful supplementary data for interpreters of the slave South. This study should supersede the old Phillips and Glunt edition of the plantation records of George Noble Jones as the most important single source of information on the plantation-slave society of antebellum Florida.

Focusing upon the middle portion of the Florida Panhandle, principally those counties lying between the Apalachicola and Suwannee rivers, the author documents the growth of a cotton economy which rivaled, in some respects, that of the more prolific Deep South cotton states. Her extensive research in newspapers, county tax books, estate records, unpublished census returns, and other primary materials, is impressive. Of particular interest are chapters on the legal status of slaves, the forage system, and the large slaveholders of Florida. Earlier chapters on slave trading, plantation management and labor, and slave living conditions contain little that is new (as well as much that does not relate directly to Florida) and are less useful.

The author draws few conclusions of her own, preferring instead to analyze the views of earlier historians. She enters the perennial debate concerning the profitability of slavery, asserting that "slavery, as a business enterprise, was undoubtedly profitable for the owner"—especially in Florida (p. 176). But one searches in vain for unequivocal conclusions concerning other points of historical contention. Smith also succumbs to the temptation, common among those who revise their doctoral dissertations for publication, to include much material that is trivial in nature or of doubtful relevance—a tendency compounded in this case by the relative paucity of data available for the general study of the "peculiar institution" in a marginal plantation state. Thus, it is difficult to discern the relevance of the initial chapter, entitled "Slave Plantations of the New World," which consists largely of an analysis of Carl Degler's recent challenge to the Elkins-Tannenbaum thesis. And the concluding chapter, which commences with a historiographical essay on the profitability of slavery and concludes with brief discussions of religion and education in antebellum Florida, is a veritable organizational nightmare.

Despite its limitations, this book is a significant contribution to the secondary literature on the Old South. Its value is enhanced by an extensive bibliography, several useful appendixes—one of which contains excerpts from the

Florida Slave Narrative Collection, a number of tasteful illustrations, and an excellent index.

WILLIAM K. SCARBOROUGH  
University of Southern Mississippi

EDWARD PESSEN. *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company. 1973. Pp. 378. \$7.95.

Professor Edward Pessen of City College is fond of asking embarrassing questions, and not even Alexis de Tocqueville, who has enjoyed for so long the prestige of a statue in a public garden, is a sacred figure in his eyes. Perplexed by Tocqueville's inference that the wealth of the United States in the 1830s was democratically distributed, Pessen determined to do his own research on this topic. Unafraid of the drudgery of poring over tax assessments, he has been laboring for some time on those of New York, Brooklyn, Boston, and Philadelphia in the antebellum years. Perhaps because he rereads *Vanity Fair* every so often to recover from this ordeal, the results of his researches are readable and no one can claim that he puts forward the findings of a pedant. Pessen states that "the notion that ante-bellum America lacked substantial fortunes is not borne out by the evidence," and he speaks with an authority that may make more than one historian wonder whether Pierre Lorillard was the first New Yorker worth one million dollars.

The author has come to question what might have passed for evidence in the days of Moses Yale Beach, whose listings of the very rich Pessen finds quite unreliable. Philadelphia, he admits, was a quagmire, for assessments on real estate were leveled not on owners but on occupants. And he reminds us that Mayor Josiah Quincy of Boston was no friend of the truth in these matters. To Quincy "an accurate exhibit of personality was ruinous to a businessman, besides being in many cases entirely impracticable."

Pessen's conclusions are respectable and not likely to be challenged. He argues that "in the year of Andrew Jackson's first election to the presidency the wealthiest four per cent of the population, in owning almost half the wealth, possessed a larger proportion of New York City's wealth than the richest ten per cent had evidently owned in the urban northeast half a century earlier." So much for New York. In the Brooklyn of 1845 the richest one per cent had half the wealth, just like New York in that year. Boston was no more demo-

cratic, for eighty-three per cent of the rich of 1838 were already rich in 1833.

"Above all," Pessen asks at the end, "what happens to the romantic glorification of the common man? Amid all the hullabaloo about his alleged dominance in the era, the common man appears to have gotten very little of whatever it was that counted for much."

WAYNE ANDREWS  
Wayne State University

CLIFFORD M. DRURY. *Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the Opening of Old Oregon*. In two volumes. (Northwest Historical Series, 10 and 11.) Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1973. Pp. 476; 435. \$38.50 the set, postpaid.

Presbyterian minister with a Ph.D. in history, retired professor of Church history at San Francisco Theological Seminary, Clifford Merrill Drury has devoted forty years to the history of the Oregon Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Materials he discovered for his biographies of the leading figures he has edited and published. Although his near dozen books are limited to a narrow specialty, he has uncovered so many materials and has written in such rich detail that all students of the Pacific Northwest during the period of the Oregon Mission, 1835-47, are in his debt.

This is the most complete biography of the Whitmans. Expanded on his long out of print *Marcus Whitman, M.D., Pioneer of Old Oregon* (1936), these volumes profit from the use of sources not available or not yet discovered by 1936. Only one conclusion is different—he has "given more attention to the significant role that Whitman played in the opening of Old Oregon to American settlement," (vol. 1, p. 19). Its importance, says Drury, is that the boundary was set at forty-nine degrees "largely because of the numerical strength of the American colony in that territory . . ." (vol. 2, p. 91), an interpretation that overlooks many other factors, including Anglo-American relations, internal politics in both countries, and Polk's interest in expansion in areas other than Oregon.

Two more matters—first, students of the Jacksonian period will wish that the book had been set in a broader context. Second, although Drury acknowledges the conflict of cultures—but it began before 1843 (vol. 2, p. 95)—little is said of the culture of the "uncivilized Cayuses" (vol. 1, p. 443), particularly of Indian religious ideas. He is clearly on the

side of the whites. Infant head flattening was dying out by 1836; referring to the Whitman child born in 1837 he says, "It requires little imagination for us to believe that no Cayuse mother would willingly deform her baby's head after seeing Alice Clarissa" (vol. 1, p. 247).

Mr. Drury has done well what he set out to do. He has told the dramatic story of two people whose faith and dedication were so strong that they stayed at Waiilatpu knowing that it might cost them their lives, which indeed it did. This kind of devotion, together with the Indians' attempt to preserve their civilization, constitutes the real tragedy—conflict, not between good and evil, but between two goods.

ROBERT L. WHITNER  
Whitman College

JANE SHAFFER ELSMERE. *Henry Ward Beecher: The Indiana Years, 1837-1847*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1973. Pp. xiii, 317. \$7.50.

This book is a carefully written and thoroughly researched chronicle of the first ten years of Henry Ward Beecher's professional life. Elsmere quite correctly considers these years (particularly the eight years spent as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis) to be the formative period in which Beecher laid the foundations for his triumphs in the 1850s and 1860s as the prince of Plymouth Pulpit. A descriptive rather than an analytical biography, the book tells the story of Beecher's struggles to establish himself professionally and to support a family as well as of his growing effectiveness as a preacher and the expanding scope of his activities and influence in the community and region. It is a balanced and judicious treatment. Attentive to the variety of pressures Beecher faced, it gives a sensitive account of his decision in 1843 finally to address slavery from the pulpit. In addition, it gives a sympathetic portrayal of the difficult and somewhat pathetic Mrs. Beecher, who was unable to adjust to a society that did not give automatic deference to a minister and his family and did not sufficiently esteem the Beechers' superior refinement and who came to loathe Indiana as she saw herself worn down by childbirth, illness, and the genteel poverty congregations imposed upon young ministers.

As a biography, however, the book presents some difficulties. Though it is accurate and inclusive, the biographical rationale and focus remain somewhat unclear. Elsmere does not

really deal with the problem of Beecher's distinctiveness or significance as a cultural leader. As portrayed in these pages, Beecher is indistinguishable from any other moderately talented, ambitious, and moderately successful minister of the period. We are shown that he developed into an effective preacher, but we are not provided with a very clear idea of what made him effective. In fact, Elsmere does not appear to have a very well worked out conception of what aside from the fact of fame and popularity was important about the fully formed Beecher. As a result, the question of what significance the Indiana years had as apprenticeship for his later career is left unanswered.

If, however, the book in part fails as biography, it succeeds in other ways. In a sense the book falls halfway between two historical genres: biography and local history. In fact, Elsmere is clearly as interested in Indiana history as she is in Henry Ward Beecher, if not more interested. Unlike most biographies in which the context is portrayed through the eyes and largely from the sources concerning the biographical subject, Elsmere gives the Indiana context equally careful attention. The book is thoroughly grounded in manuscript materials of Beecher's parishoners, and, in this sense, Beecher is used as much to illuminate Indiana society and culture as it is used as a backdrop for Beecher. In the end, perhaps, Elsmere's failure to pose some of the biographical issues precisely enough is compensated for by the portrait she gives of the growth and workings of a portion of Indiana society in the 1840s.

DONALD M. SCOTT

North Carolina State University

JOHN H. SCHROEDER. *Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846-1848*. [Madison:] University of Wisconsin Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 184. \$12.50.

Writing in the last years of American fighting in Vietnam, the author of this book sees a recurrent pattern of controversy during American wars. Dissenters have questioned the maneuvers by which America has been led into war and the objectives for which wars have been fought; their questioning has been portrayed by governmental warmakers as giving aid and comfort to the enemy. In the author's words: "Representative of this persistent war debate in American history is the Mexican War. With notable exceptions and variations,

the motivations, composition, arguments, and ultimate failure of the opposition between 1846 and 1848 are characteristic of other antiwar movements" (p. xiv). Unfortunately, Professor Schroeder's discussion of ideas and events of the 1840s is too sketchy for such comparisons to be convincing.

Schroeder's antiwar movement includes both congressmen who opposed President Polk, often for partisan reasons, and reformers who deplored what they saw as an immoral, pro-slavery, or anti-Republican war. Most of the book retraces the efforts of various factions of Whigs and Democrats to find viable positions on the war, slavery, and expansion. Since that story is largely familiar, it is regrettable that this book fails to show what links existed, if any, between congressional opposition and dissent outside of Washington. Although the book occasionally refers to a "small army" of dissenters, only twenty-eight pages (pp. 92-119) describe the ranks of clergymen, pacifists, abolitionists, and *littérateurs* who opposed the war. What are we to make, for example, of the claim, offered with little evidence, that antiwar sentiment was "unanimous" among Congregationalists and Unitarians? Are we to believe, then, that all Cotton Whigs in Massachusetts belonged to other denominations (or does their antagonism toward Polk qualify them as part of the antiwar movement)? The pages on abolitionism illustrate some of the book's shortcomings. All abolitionists are slighted except New Englanders and disunionists. Instead of exploring the relationship between the work of Joshua Giddings in Congress and the agitation of abolitionists outside, the book consigns Giddings to the chapters on politics and pigeonholes the abolitionists elsewhere.

In *Dissent in Three American Wars* (Samuel E. Morison *et al.*, 1970) Frederick Merk suggests that the United States would have grabbed more of Mexico if there had been less vociferous opposition to the war. Because Schroeder's treatment of "dissent" is so superficial, it is hard to assess his contrary assertion that this antiwar movement was, like all others, unsuccessful.

LEWIS PERRY

State University of New York,  
Buffalo

STUART BRUCE KAUFMAN. *Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848-1896*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 8.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 274. \$11.50.

In a strongly revisionist thesis Samuel Gompers and the AFL are presented here as emerging from a radical tradition in a direct line from Karl Marx and the First International. Gompers is viewed as thinking "like Marx" with a visionary perception of a class movement built solely from the economic organization of the workers, and throughout the work Gompers is interpreted as having an ideologically consistent position, similar to Marx. Thus Kaufman can argue that Gompers's philosophy permeated the AFL to such an extent that the AFL was not an abandonment of Marxist principles but "a product of the assimilation of a Marxian tradition to the American circumstance" (p. 221). Even on the opening page we are told that a temperamental bond must have been established between the ten to thirteen-year-old Gompers and the Socialist sage, Marx, a story based on the feelings of the author.

Although Kaufman admits that the unification of American labor into a movement was an independent achievement of the trade unions, he is so interested in proving his thesis that Gompers was a radical that he does not recognize the import of the trend to the emerging AFL. Gompers moves slowly and cautiously in practical steps pressing for a benefit system and a strike fund in order to weld the diverse elements of the labor movement together into an effectively tight federation. But Kaufman sees an ultimately radical motive and design in these actions, which envisions a class organization that could eventually contest the power of the bourgeoisie. The activities of the independent trade unions over which Gompers had little or no control in the early years is completely neglected.

Faced with the problem of conflict between Gompers and the socialists, Kaufman presents a picture of the international trade unionists. He defends their practicalism and pragmatism as having been developed out of the native American environment, thus having a more effective national, social base. Through tortuous reasoning, this position is then interpreted as more truly in the Marxian radical tradition in that it contains the necessity of building an economic base for eventual effective political action in opposition to the socialist demand for immediate political action. Gompers appears again as having the more radical ideology, but Kaufman does not consider the possibility that Gompers is acting out of an essential institutional conservatism with tactics aimed to please the skilled trade unionists in order to protect his own position from the socialist challenge.

Gompers was, of course, ideologically inconsistent even on the political action question, although the author depicts the changes as being consistent.

The challenge to existing interpretations of Gompers and the early AFL is easily apparent, but Kaufman stops short of proclaiming that Gompers was a theoretical Marxist. Using examples from Gompers's letters as his primary base, Kaufman argues that the radical Marxian tradition persisted in Gompers as an "operating motivation" and "a deeply held commitment to radical change" that resulted in his leading the AFL to "a class movement" that was within the Marxian tradition (pp. 217, 219, 222). The thesis is not convincing in either evidence or argument.

LOUIS L. ATHEY

*Franklin and Marshall College*

WILLIAM C. WRIGHT. *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1973. Pp. 274. \$15.00.

Dr. Wright's book examines support for secession in Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York between Lincoln's election and the firing on Fort Sumter. It finds that a few secessionists wanted their state to join the Confederacy, more proposed establishing a central confederacy with the western border states, and most simply favored letting the South go in peace. Almost all secessionists were Democrats, residing either in slave or onetime slave counties or in cities with substantial economic and social ties with the South. They failed to see any of their ideas adopted in their states because they lacked effective leadership, failed to do more than speak for their cause, and waited for their neighboring states to act. In the end they succeeded only in giving the Confederate leaders a false impression of substantial Northern support and thus encouraged them to seize federal property and to fire on Fort Sumter. Ironically, these acts undermined peaceful secession in the North and especially intimidated Maryland and Delaware secessionists, who feared secession by their states would turn them into bloody theaters of war.

Wright develops his thesis by examining the statements and voting records of the governors, state legislators, congressmen, and newspapers of each state. His chapters on Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey are his strongest, and his conclusion that Maryland Governor Thomas



Hicks supported a central confederacy is a fresh and convincing contribution. Running through his chapters on Pennsylvania and New York, however, is a disturbing confusion of those who opposed coercing the South with those who favored peaceful secession. Now, as David Potter has shown, these two positions were fundamentally different. Many Northerners opposed coercing the South because they believed that without hostile provocation the secession movement would fail politically in the cotton states. Those noncoercionists were anything but secessionists; yet Wright says they were. He disposes of Horace Greeley's attitudes toward secession by quoting one letter from Greeley to Lincoln and one to William Herndon and by noting in a footnote that Professors Potter and Thomas N. Bonner have disagreed on the subject. Other examples of this kind of thin, uncritical research occur often enough to raise doubts about the book's value. Indeed, if Wright's general conclusions were not so thoroughly predictable and so many of his quotations so clearly unambiguous, one might recommend that scholars disregard his book altogether. As it is, this book should serve as a starting point for anyone wishing to explore the subject's intellectual and political complexities.

GEORGE T. MCJIMSEY  
Iowa State University

MARILYN MCADAMS SIBLEY. *George W. Brackenridge: Maverick Philanthropist*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 280. \$8.50.

Pleasingly written is this detailed account of the career of George W. Brackenridge, banker and philanthropist of San Antonio. From Indiana Brackenridge had come to Texas at the age of twenty in 1853, but he left the state as a Unionist early in the Civil War and returned in the capacity of United States Treasury agent to the Rio Grande area. Here along the river he engaged in wartime cotton trade. Later Brackenridge settled in San Antonio where he founded a bank and invested in a utility company, a newspaper, and other enterprises. Brackenridge turned from business long enough to become president of the San Antonio school board.

The author tells of the financier's leadership as a regent of the University of Texas, which office he filled from November 1886 to January 1911, only to return to that position in 1917 for two more years. As regent he aided in collecting back rents on University of Texas

properties, and he placed these on a paying basis. His benefactions to the University of Texas included a dormitory for men, money for the founding of the school of home economics, a loan for women students in architecture, law, and medicine, and a final gift for the school of 500 acres of land on the Colorado River in Austin. Brackenridge proposed that the main campus of the University of Texas be moved to this land, and he was disappointed when his proposal met defeat. Still his loyalty to the university continued. Brackenridge agreed, if necessary, to underwrite the expenses of the school for the next biennium out of his own funds after Governor James E. Ferguson vetoed the university appropriation bill for 1917-19. Fortunately, Brackenridge did not have to make this sacrifice. He contributed to other educational purposes as well, and these included four school buildings in San Antonio, a college for Negroes in Seguin, Texas, and money to women medical students at Galveston.

Perhaps the people of San Antonio remember Brackenridge most for the two parks, one of which bears his name, that this man who never married donated for the youth of the city.

This commendable book is well documented and indexed.

WILLIAM CURTIS NUNN  
Texas Christian University

SAUL SIGELSCHIPER. *The American Conscience: The Drama of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates*. New York: Horizon Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 15-488. \$12.95.

Since 1958, when Paul M. Angle published his superb edition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates to commemorate the centennial of the encounter, a number of studies of the confrontation between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas have appeared, including Harry Jaffa's in-depth interpretation of the issues of the debates, Robert Allen Heckman's descriptive account of the 1858 campaign in the context of state and national politics, Don Fehrenbacher's fresh analysis of Lincoln's role in the 1850s, and, from the Douglas side, the recent works by Damon Wells and this reviewer. To these accounts Saul Sigelschiffer's *The American Conscience* adds very little.

About half of the book deals with the background and aftermath of the debates, as well as the characters and careers of the two debaters; the other half focuses on the debates themselves. Each of the seven joint debates is dealt

with in a separate chapter. Believing that the two rivals should speak for themselves as much as possible, Sigelschiffer quotes frequently and extensively from their statements. He has given some attention to contemporary newspaper reaction and to the activities of the candidates as they journeyed from one debate site to another, relying heavily on Angle's edition, the highly useful 1908 collection of Edwin Erle Sparks and a scattering of older secondary works and reminiscences. In contrast with the epic qualities that the author ascribes to the debates (and with the "drama" promised in the book's subtitle), the discussions are rather flat and the chapters assume an almost mechanical sameness.

Sigelschiffer's evaluation of the debates in the perspective of American history and his assessment of the two protagonists may well raise some eyebrows. The conscience of America, he writes, "could not rest with the paradox of liberty and slavery living side by side." The Lincoln-Douglas debates, he believes, were the high point in this struggle of conscience, a turning point for the nation. "Since the biblical struggle between David and Goliath, few personal encounters have been as fateful to a nation as to the combatants themselves." While his claims for the debates border on the extravagant, the author's discussion of the issues on which they were based is over-simplified to the point of distortion. He has made little use of the tremendous amount of scholarship on the sectional conflict, holding tenaciously instead to views that have long been challenged and even discredited by historians.

Sigelschiffer is lavish in his praise for Lincoln. Lincoln, he suggests, was the instrument of God to destroy slavery; for years "he pondered the riddle of slavery" and then emerged from obscurity at the right moment to play his role. The Declaration of Independence is "the reflection of the conscience of America" and Lincoln has been its foremost interpreter, dedicated to the achievement of its ideals, a principal actor in the great laboratory for freedom that was, and is, the United States. His only shortcoming, his "Achilles heel," the author believes, was his failure in 1858 to accept all the implications of his moral opposition to slavery. Although Sigelschiffer is often ambivalent in his judgment of Douglas, he regards the "Little Giant" as basically misguided and mistaken; Douglas's tragedy "was moral failure." His program would have reduced the Declaration of Independence to ashes and snuffed out this beacon of inspiration. Douglas, Sigelschiffer charges, failed to comprehend the true nature of his country's

destiny and contributed to the breakup of the Union by convincing Southerners of their peril if a Republican should be elected in 1860. The South, he contends, was in the grip of a small clique of unscrupulous slaveholders for whom democratic government was of no consequence. Lincoln recognized the true character of this clique while Douglas became its tool. The author clearly writes from strong conviction but his assessments are less than convincing.

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN  
*University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign*

WILLIAM E. PARRISH. *A History of Missouri. Volume 3, 1860 to 1875.* [Columbia:] University of Missouri Press. 1973. Pp. vii, 332. \$9.50.

The period covered in this fine history of an important border state is from the outbreak of the Civil War until the end of Reconstruction in Missouri and the defeat of the Liberal and Radical Republicans. Although the book lacks footnotes, it is based on massive research and is bulwarked by a large annotated bibliography.

The Civil War, which assumed a sectional character in most areas, was truly a civil war in Missouri. Settlement patterns had inextricably mixed slaveholders with German Radicals and other free-soilers. These neighbors now met to settle political differences on bitter battlefields or in the ambush of guerrilla warfare. All of the range of political divisions on the national scene could be found in concentrated form in Missouri, but in addition Missouri had the problem of governing itself when the governor and legislature had fled the state. Besides the division over the nature of the Union and of slavery there were divisions within Northern and Southern ranks. Union men were divided over how to get rid of slavery, and Southerners were split over its support and where to fight the war. The quarrels in the Union ranks between the Charcoals and the Claybanks sorely tried even the political genius and patience of Lincoln and eventually led to a split among the victors after the war. Passions aroused by the terrible nature of guerrilla warfare in Missouri or by the war itself were slow to cool, and Reconstruction in the state reflected attempts by the Radicals to secure the peace. Proscriptive measures against rebels and traitors failed, and the lasting monuments of the Radicals were in education, suffrage, and the economy.

Missouri's history during the troubled times of the Civil War and Reconstruction, perhaps

more than that of any other state, offers in concentrated and acute form the national divisions. There, too, battles and other military measures, including military government, were simply politics in another form. Thus, the story deserves the close attention that the writer has given it. But he has not neglected other aspects of Missouri's history, such as the growth of cities, economic development, the fate of the blacks, cultural life, and life in general under the pressures of bitter strife. This excellent study deserves emulation in other states.

RODNEY C. LOEHR  
University of Minnesota,  
Twin Cities

JOHN W. BLASSINGAME. *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1973. Pp. xvii, 301. \$9.95.

What he did for the bondsman in *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (1972) John W. Blassingame now does for the freedman in *Black New Orleans*. Blending historical and sociological perspectives, and drawing with skill and imagination upon a variety of sources, he offers fresh insights into an oft-studied period of Southern history. His setting in this volume is Reconstruction, but, as before, his subject is the quality of black life and the nature of black institutions. Black political aspirations are not ignored, but the emphasis is on "those areas of life—education, family, religion, social and economic activities—which were of more immediate concern to blacks than politics" (p. xv).

Crescent City blacks were in most respects the region's most advantaged, yet they too staggered into citizenship under the burden of slavery and antebellum proscriptions. Not remarkably, theirs was a mixed record of achievement during the two decades following the outbreak of the Civil War. Reconstruction brought few lasting political benefits; but in other areas, the author concludes, these were for blacks years of significant change and modest success. They "quickly learned the responsibilities of free labor and managed to compete successfully against whites in many areas of economic life" (p. 49). Racial discrimination and a generally depressed New Orleans economy conspired severely to handicap most freedmen. But a few blacks became wealthy merchants and real estate brokers and many more became highly skilled tradesmen. During Reconstruction New Orleans blacks also overcame "slavery's legacy of immorality and instability" and developed patri-

archal families "almost as stable" (p. 79) as those of whites. Eager to improve their lot they organized schools, churches, orphanages, mutual aid societies, and social and literary clubs. While their demands for equal access were often frustrated, blacks enjoyed greater recourse to public accommodations in New Orleans than in any other Southern city. Segregation was widely practiced, but schools and housing patterns were integrated and interracial sexual contacts numerous. Thus Reconstruction created what Blassingame aptly terms a "mosaic in race relations without design" (p. 173), and it "laid the foundation in New Orleans for Jim Crow's strangest career" (p. 217).

Although specialists will find few surprises in this brief study, it is nonetheless a welcome contribution. Dispassionate and well written, based on extensive research, it contains copious notes, numerous tables, a functional index, and a selective bibliography. In both time and place the author has chosen an extraordinarily revealing vantage point from which to view his subject. He is doubtlessly correct in believing that his work provides a standard by which to measure black life in other Southern cities.

NEIL R. MCMILLEN  
University of Southern Mississippi

G. R. TREDWAY. *Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana*. (Indiana Library and Historical Board.) [Indianapolis:] Indiana Historical Bureau. 1973. Pp. xv, 433. \$10.00.

For students of Civil War politics this is an important book. The effort here is to examine the origins and sources of Indiana's Democratic opposition to the Lincoln administration, to probe that opposition's action, and to develop a clearer understanding of wartime secret societies, the much-controverted Northwest Conspiracy of 1864 and the actual functioning of a military commission. In this effort the author succeeds admirably.

This thoroughly documented study (118 pages of notes) reveals clearly the bases of Democratic dissatisfaction with administration policies—notably, adding emancipation to the war's original purpose of saving the Union, the army draft, suppression of dissent, suspension of habeas corpus, subsequent arbitrary arrests, and military trials of civilians. "That ephemeral and elusive order, the Knights of the Golden Circle," is examined and exonerated, although the later secret societies, Order of American

Knights and Sons of Liberty, do not come off so cleanly.

The evidence offered here demonstrates convincingly that Indiana Democrats were for the most part loyal citizens willing to support the war to restore the Union they had known and loved. They were less than eager for emancipation that might flood their state with Southern Negroes. Repressive administration tactics generated a resistance of its own or, as the author puts it, "restoration of the Union was actually jeopardized by the policies" of suppressing free speech, press, and open criticism. In Indiana Colonel Henry B. Carrington, the adjutant-general, grossly exaggerated for his own ends the dangers of subversion and greatly overacted in dealing with them. The author shows that although often distorted in historical writings, the Northwest Conspiracy of 1864 was a reality, but it dwindled as a potential danger when responsible Democrats dropped away from it on learning of Confederate participation. Leaders who were arrested in Indiana and tried by military courts, including the legendary Lambdin P. Milligan, of whom this work gives full coverage, were convicted out of prejudice and not on the evidence.

Tredway's presentation and conclusion essentially reject the more traditional picture of disloyalty on the part of Democrats offered in George F. Milton's and Wood Gray's works as reflecting contemporary Republican distortions. Some serious questions are raised about James G. Randall's treatment. The author applauds Frank Klement's fairer, more judicious view, although he thinks Klement dismisses the later secret societies too lightly. This is a solid, well-developed study that deserves the attention of all students of Civil War politics.

DAVID LINDSEY  
California State University,  
Los Angeles

JOHN NIVEN. *Gideon Welles: Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 676. \$17.50.

The subtitle of this book may have prompted the *AHR* editors to invite a review by a naval historian. The naval aspects of the study, however, prove to be secondary. Rather it is an excellent political history from Andrew Jackson through the agonizing term of Andrew Johnson played against a backdrop of the life and public career of Gideon Welles.

Overshadowed by Chase, Seward, and Stanton in the Lincoln cabinet, and in his own depart-

ment by Gustavus Fox, the flamboyant assistant secretary of the navy, Welles has emerged in historical literature as a nobody who appeared from nowhere; served Lincoln faithfully, if not with marked distinction; and silently returned from whence he had come. Professor Niven's sparkling scholarship sounds the death knell to this simplistic myth.

In his native Connecticut, Gideon Welles was a veteran of local and state political infighting long years before he came on the Washington scene. He was an oddity with curled wig and flowing white whiskers. The incisive, logical, and frequently vitriolic editorials written by Welles for the Jeffersonian *Hartford Times* under the guidance of his mentor, John Milton Niles, were a major factor in shaping the political thinking and actions of the Connecticut electorate.

A political radical and staunch Jacksonian Democrat, Welles fought the banks with a fervor worthy of the old Hero of New Orleans. He would ultimately abandon the Democrats on the slavery issue and become a founder of the Republican party. Welles was a rigid idealist who was incapable of accommodating political theory to stark reality. He held the truth, as he saw it, to be self-evident. At the same time, Welles was also a wire-puller and manipulator of the first order, a man with strong personal ambition and an adept patronage jobber for party faithful and himself. This is the profile of Welles that comes through clearly in the Niven book.

Welles's first federal appointment was as postmaster of Hartford. Then from 1846 to 1849 he was chief of the Navy's Bureau of Provisions and Clothing; an experience that stood him in good stead when he assumed wartime leadership of the department.

The author brings us to Gideon Welles as secretary of the navy and Lincoln's New England man in the cabinet after more than 320 pages. Treatment of naval administration and operations is highly selective, but perhaps adequate for a study not intended to focus on naval history. Mr. Niven seems unjustly critical of Du Pont and other senior commanders, and he demeans certain naval actions. For example, he dismisses the Hatteras Inlet operation, the initial morale-building Union victory after the first Bull Run debacle, and one which sealed off blockade running from Pamlico Sound, as a trifling affair. Several factual errors creep into the naval coverage, but nothing really damaging. I did gain the firm impression that, while writing, Mr. Niven issued a long



sigh of relief whenever he could put aside naval matters and return to the intrigues of the more familiar and comfortable political arena.

Welles stayed on as secretary of the navy through Johnson's presidency. One would scarcely be aware of that fact from reading this book. Rather than the multiple problems of demobilization and of restructuring the navy to a peacetime posture, Mr. Niven concentrates his final chapters on Reconstruction, the president's clash with congressional radicals, and the ultimate impeachment proceedings.

While Gideon Welles may never have been in total oblivion, he was in a limbo from which Professor Niven has masterfully rescued him and placed him in proper perspective among the opinion-makers and influential political figures of the nineteenth century. Still, if anyone wishes to look more deeply at the Civil War navy department and the conflict at sea, he must turn elsewhere.

WILLIAM JAMES MORGAN  
U.S. Department of the Navy

THOMAS LAWRENCE CONNELLY and ARCHER JONES.  
*The Politics of Command: Factions and Ideas in Confederate Strategy*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 235. \$10.00.

In the years since our Civil War, scholars and buffs have mined much rich ore from this great national tragedy, and significant works continue to appear. New scholarship and research techniques bring fresh interpretations with each succeeding generation. Special interests continue in the Confederacy's "tattered flags," and in the leadership that failed before the challenges of a horrible war.

Few scholars bring better credentials to the study of Confederate leadership than do Archer Jones and Thomas L. Connelly. In *Confederate Strategy from Shiloh to Vicksburg* (1961), Jones broke important ground in his analysis of the South's command system during the first two years of the war. Connelly's monumental two volumes on the history of the army of Tennessee also suggested important fresh interpretations of Confederate leadership. In *The Politics of Command*, the two men combined talents to bring other new views of Confederate decision making at the top, with an emphasis upon a continuing leadership crisis in the South during the war.

The scholarship that marks their cooperative venture shows dependence upon several disciplines for their conclusions: psychology as they

probe personalities and ask why men acted as they did; sociology, in an inquiry into the particulars of Southern society that caused disagreements among the leaders; political science, in an analysis of the relationships among departments in a government shackled with an overdose of states rights; military science, in an explanation of the complexities of policy and strategy within the command; and history, as they trace the sequence of selected events, influences, and decisions of the war years.

From its beginning, the Confederacy was honeycombed with personality clashes, political intrigue, and jealousies among the leaders and those who sought to lead. Nothing was so exasperating to the Confederacy's hopes for success than the internal dissension, especially the "continuing debate over war policy, particularly in the Confederacy's proper strategic course" (p. x). Through it all, a harried leader moved from crisis to crisis, his key decisions often unpredictable in the face of conflicting influences and counsel.

Jones and Connelly identify five important and often competing influences that played upon President Jefferson Davis and contributed to his indecisive leadership. These were European military ideas, especially those of Henri Jomini; the views of General Robert E. Lee; the opinions of a "western bloc" that was usually dominated by General P. G. T. Beauregard; those of a "broad network of informal associations within the Confederacy"—political blocs that brought pressures to bear upon singular interests; and finally, Davis's own views that usually focused upon a departmental system around which he shaped his strategy—instead of basing his organization upon a strategy.

The president is not the only Confederate leader to fall before this assault of new criticism. Generals Bragg, Polk, Breckinridge, and Longstreet also feel the pinch. Supporters of Robert E. Lee will shudder at the image of their hero—a general obsessed with Virginia, possessed of a naive provincialism best illustrated by his narrow loyalty to region instead of nation, and myopic in his application of the strategies of Jomini and Napoleon Bonaparte in his military actions. These authors also take issue with the contention that Lee's lack of power was responsible for poor decision making at the top, suggesting instead that Lee as one of the leading advisers to the president must share blame for poor and narrow decision making.

Meanwhile, General Beauregard emerges as the most persistent advocate of a broad national strategy and policy, more congruent with mod-



ern warfare than the more provincial views of Lee. In his actions, though, the Creole general is not above reproach, for he often stretched his good plans too far for the resources available. Despite this visionary weakness and a personal antagonism with Davis, Beauregard finally gained the president's support late in the war to extend the war to a broader front.

The strengths of this book are many. It is an excellent survey of the Confederate decision-making process, and offers an impressive summary of the writings of Jomini and Napoleon. It identifies new and important influences that faced the president and his advisers, especially those from the too-often neglected Western front. The book outlines the problems of a complex departmental system across the broad Southern front and suggests human weakness in this system as important to the final outcome as logistical and strategic considerations.

These criticisms are well made and most persuasive when considered in terms of modern warfare. Concerning the Confederacy, one important question remains: how did it survive and offer such spirited resistance for four terrible years under such leadership? While torn constantly by conflicting and divisive decision making, it also must have possessed some mysterious and mighty elan that held the "Johnny Rebs" together. Certainly, this cohesiveness was, at least in part, a result of persuasive leadership. Leaders, North and South, paid a heavy price for inadequate training. Many of them used the war for personal gain and to promote narrow objectives. But others sacrificed property, reputations, and even their lives to lead, as best they could, a cause they believed to be right. The ultimate challenges of the war may have been too much for mortal men.

This is a timely study of leadership in a nation beset with leadership problems and concerned with the question of integrity in crisis decision making in the highest echelons of government. *The Politics of Command* also points up a need for other studies of leaders and leadership, including a similar one on decision making in the North. It also suggests the need for a new definitive biography of Jefferson Davis, and it is hoped that one will come from the *Papers*, now being published by Rice University.

ROBERT HARTJE  
Wittenberg University

JAMES A. WARD. *That Man Haupt: A Biography of Herman Haupt*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 278. \$11.95.

The small part of American Civil War history that is not devoted to military or political events frequently emphasizes the railroads as a new factor in warfare. "That man Haupt," President Lincoln exclaimed upon viewing one of the first great examples of military railroad engineering, "has built a bridge across Potomac Creek . . . and there is nothing in it but bean poles and cornstalks." He was referring to Herman Haupt, chief engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad and superintendent of the Northern Pacific Railroad during their most critical phases, first man to try to bore a tunnel through the Hoosac, organizer of the northern railroads into an effective strategic force at the start of the war, rugged individualist investor in numerous unsuccessful ventures, and one of the first and most successful consulting engineers in America. Professor Ward has written a biography of Haupt based on original documentary materials, and it will be read eagerly by many who have wanted an answer to the question of why this enigmatic man, who got in so firmly on the ground floor of railroading, just missed greatness in its history.

The man who emerges from this book spent his energies on a bewildering succession of enterprises, many of which he was poorly prepared for, and in few of which he evidenced the talent for compromise that was the key to success in the large-scale enterprises that arose after 1850. For the Pennsylvania Railroad, Haupt relocated large sections of the faulty original survey, built major bridges and tunnels, and drafted a plan of organization when it was ready to operate. That the first modern economists were engineers is revealed in the fact that Haupt worked out data separating fixed from variable costs of railroading, which convinced him that the early concept of the railroad as a high-priced, low-volume mode of transportation was wrong, and that a policy of low rates would enable the railroads to achieve their true destiny as haulers of virtually all the nation's burdens and to maximize profits at the same time. Finding himself ahead of his time on the Pennsylvania, he proceeded to lose nearly everything he had on a contract to build the Hoosac tunnel, a costly project intended to give Boston a second trunkline railroad to the West. Except for his demonstration that running a railroad, in time of peace or war, was no fit task for men in uniform with military mentalities, and a two-and-one-half-year tenure as superintendent of the Northern Pacific during the years when it was completed to the Pacific Coast, Haupt's career thereafter seems to have been a succession

of hare-brained ventures on which he netted huge losses.

This book is something of a disappointment, and perhaps not just because Haupt's career fell so far short of what it might have been. Ward's sources, which include a body of forgotten Haupt Papers at Yale and valuable materials in the possession of one of his grandchildren, are basic, but while they yield a story that is rich in controversy and the details of ineane business schemes, there is not nearly enough on Haupt's solid accomplishments. A major gap in the sources is the records of the Northern Pacific, which are readily available at the Minnesota Historical Society and would have added much on Haupt's contribution to this badly managed railroad during its Villard period. Even so, in an era in which railroad history has suffered from the transmogrifications of the various new schools, it is reassuring to find scholars still writing books on the subject that are honest, professional, and useful as far as they go.

ALBRO MARTIN  
*American University*

ERNEST N. PAOLINO, *The Foundations of the American Empire: William Henry Seward and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 235. \$9.75.

Since I am not a diplomatic historian, I was the more grateful for R. M. Abrams's "United States Intervention Abroad: The First Quarter Century," (*AHR*, 79 [1974]: 72-102). It eased greatly my task of reviewing briefly yet adequately Professor Paolino's significant *Foundations of American Empire*. I refer readers to the Abrams survey and turn to other aspects of the Paolino volume. Paolino's judgment is that the first quarter century of sustained American intervention abroad began not in the late 1890s but in the early 1860s. Quietly and impressively, though too sparsely at almost every point, Paolino sketches in his estimate of the Civil War and Reconstruction as a commercial expansion watershed. He connects Seward's State Department aspirations and operations during 1861-69 to a consistent emphasis on overseas ventures involving, as examples, creation of a global telegraph link and a unified world coinage by Washington officialdom and mercantile and financial makeweights. These efforts failed. Spanning continents, Paolino traces the more effective policy alternatives—Alaskan and insular coaling station

acquisitions, isthmian canal interests, and a sometimes bellicose search for trading privileges in Japan to which Seward and his coadjutors also turned their attention.

I am impressed, as Paolino is, by Seward's educability. The secretary dropped his prewar rhetoric about Canadian territorial annexation. He quickly sensed potentialities in the new telegraph technology for the swift transmission of intelligence (concerning which, L. Lindley's 1973 Rice dissertation on the constitutional relationships of government and the telegraph would have served Paolino very well). A brilliant anticipator of future American foreign policies, Seward's achievements and frustrations, according to Paolino, must be measured in light of "the limited materials and opportunities at his [Seward's] disposal" (p. 212). A sound point. Certainly the State Department's miniscule staff was an unlikely machine for achieving grand goals. But Seward's generation would not have marveled much at the apparent disparity between his ends and means. His contemporaries did not assume that government must carry the whole burden of public policies or that government officials should function isolated from market-place entrepreneurs.

As Lincoln's first internal security administrator and as Stanton's cabinet colleague, Seward was intimately familiar with the capacity of more-or-less private associations including the Christian and the Sanitary Commissions and the Freedmen's Bureau field staff to advance public and private interests. Expedients like these avoided easier options of wholly public administration involving large, permanent, costly bureaucracies. Such options were unpalatable to men of Seward's time. They were busily involved in the energy releases that Willard Hurst has described so well, employing as little public sector machinery as possible; less than now seems to have been possible or perhaps even desirable by our standards.

Of course Seward's dreams as secretary had to be placed in the Civil War and Reconstruction context. Only when and if Union victory occurred could Seward win. Paolino provides a substantial service in directing attention to aspects of Lincoln-Andrew Johnson history too little studied. But I fear also that Paolino has exploited too little the large literature on the Civil War and Reconstruction, especially recent reconsiderations of social organization, public administration, and the limitations of political commitment. These estimates make dubious his concluding suggestions about the impediments that the war and Reconstruction

placed in the way of entrepreneurial organization and government-functional outreaches.

Nevertheless Paolino's *Foundations* possesses large assets. Blessed with reasonable internal logic and unshrill tone, nourished by impressive archival documentation, and sparked by wide-ranging perceptions, the book deserves respectful consideration.

HAROLD M. HYMAN  
Rice University

LOUIS S. GERTEIS. *From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy toward Southern Blacks, 1861-1865*. (Contributions in American History, number 29.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 255. \$11.50.

How much change did former slaves experience as a result of federal policy during the Civil War? To explore the issue Professor Gerteis presents chronological accounts of policy development in the three major areas of Union occupation: Virginia and the Carolinas, Louisiana, and the Mississippi Valley. Thus his volume becomes the most detailed study of a topic previously considered by several historians including Bell Wiley, Benjamin Quarles, and Willie Lee Rose.

Official Union attitudes toward defecting slaves did not evolve smoothly, but rather amid disputes between the War and Treasury Departments, among military commanders, and between freedmen and their emancipators. Reformers desired land redistribution to create a stable economic base for freedmen. If property could not be acquired, blacks hoped for the partial independence of sharecropping. The author concludes, however, that the federal government essentially sought to mobilize ex-slaves as laborers and soldiers and to avoid disruptive change, especially in Virginia and Louisiana where some planters had declared their loyalty to the Union. Even government direction and protection of labor systems for freedmen declined when military needs ended with the war, although the Freedmen's Bureau continued to promote the wartime patterns of wage labor and sharecropping during Reconstruction.

The author's analysis appears generally sound, although a few specific conclusions seem open to debate. He suggests that "blacks on the [South Carolina] Sea Islands fared no better than the freedmen on Virginia's Eastern Shore" (p. 50), despite evidence that former slaves on the Sea Islands did acquire more land during the conflict than those of the Eastern Shore.

The notion that wartime federal policy foreshadowed the lack of postwar land reform represents a subtle shift of emphasis from the interpretations of LaWanda Cox, James McPherson, and William McFeely, who believe Andrew Johnson extinguished that hope during the early Reconstruction years. Since economic status is crucial to social change, and since previous works have covered the subject of black troops, it seems reasonable for the author to emphasize federal labor policy. Yet the description of educational and religious efforts by freedmen's aid societies as "inconsequential" (p. 183) appears too harsh, especially in view of recent debates over the psychological impact of slavery. By contrast, John Blassingame in *Black New Orleans, 1860-80* (1973) ranks education as the greatest advantage gained by blacks from the war.

With this well-researched contribution to our understanding of the emancipation process, Gerteis joins other recent students of the period who see crucial limitations within Northern attitudes that assured the failure of fundamental reform.

ALWYN BARR  
Texas Tech University

MILTON LOMASK. *Andrew Johnson: President on Trial*. Reprint. New York: Octagon Books. 1973. Pp. viii, 376. \$14.00.

The 1973 reprinting of Milton Lomask's thoughtful and highly readable study of Andrew Johnson's presidency is obviously timely, inasmuch as a host of Americans today are eager to discover how closely Richard Nixon's position in 1974 approximates that of the Democratic chief executive from Tennessee in the early months of 1868. In actuality the differences between the two cases appear to be more pronounced than the similarities. Certainly the author's swift-paced narrative indicates that Johnson's impeachment rested more directly upon the political skill of his principal adversary, "Old Thad" Stevens of Pennsylvania, than upon the president's own words and deeds. No observer of the scene today, however, has publicly attributed Nixon's situation to his political inexperience or to a naive faith in the fair-mindedness of his fellow citizens. To historians of the Reconstruction period, nevertheless, more interesting than the somewhat farfetched analogies between two presidents whose characters had so little in common are the arguments arising from the relatively recent re-examination of Johnson's attitude to-

ward Negroes and bills that might conceivably have ensured freedmen in the South both civil rights and political equality before the end of the 1860s.

Andrew Johnson's failure to offer positive leadership in effecting social reform in the former Confederate states while he still had some control over Reconstruction constitutes the major charge against him in the view of his present-day critics. Nothing in Lomask's text supports so severe an attack on the performance of the "Tennessee mudsill" in the White House. On the contrary, the author presents him as a scholarly upholder of the Constitution, a man who believed firmly in the principle of leaving to the states all powers not explicitly vested in the federal government. Lomask portrays him as stubborn and frequently maladroit, but never malicious. Although he disapproved of the Black Codes enacted during 1865 and 1866 in state after state of the former Confederacy, he remained silent when a rebuke from him might have induced white leaders in the South to recognize blacks as fellow citizens. He won the dubious distinction of being the first American president to veto bills that House and Senate promptly passed over his veto. But at every turn his tactless pronouncements, his deeds, and his omissions stemmed not from self-aggrandisement but from convictions that he was protecting the interests of his countrymen as a whole.

The lack of explicit documentation for some of the author's judgments may trouble the avid seeker for truth, but on the whole that fault is infrequent in a book manifestly designed for others besides professional historians. The weakness, moreover, is largely offset by the numerous adroitly drawn vignettes of the main actors in this drama. Real people walk across every page encouraging every reader to form his own opinion of who was hero, who was knave, who was some of both.

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN  
Washington, D.C.

PEGGY LAMSON. *The Glorious Failure: Black Congressman Robert Brown Elliott and the Reconstruction in South Carolina*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1973. Pp. 330. \$7.95.

This study of Robert Brown Elliott is a compassionate, forceful, and lucid political examination of one of the more extraordinarily active of the black Republicans of the Reconstruction

period. Elliott served in many capacities and fought many political skirmishes and wars as a member of the South Carolina Legislature, during which he eventually became Speaker of the House; in the U.S. House of Representatives—the first full-blooded black; as a member of various state assemblies and national conventions; and as a lawyer on the local scene. He died young, in the exiled state of Louisiana, without power and financially driven. He had been deeply involved in the complex racial and political issues of the era; his epitaph, says the author, was a "glorious failure."

Lamson wrote this work with an increasing admiration for Elliott, for his life and pain, although she occasionally dips into his shortcomings, errors, and financial machinations. Of importance, she tackles the problem of Elliott's origins. Contemporary accounts and Elliott himself claimed Massachusetts for his birthplace and England for his educational background. Lamson incisively postulates, however, that he may well have been born and educated in England, that he never became an American citizen (thus he would be "the only British subject ever to be a member" of the U.S. House of Representatives), that he had been trained as a printer, and had served in the British navy. He may well have entered the country by jumping ship in Boston.

Once ensconced in South Carolina, Elliott plunged into Reconstruction politics and immediately assayed the situation for blacks. At the state constitutional convention in 1868, he led the fight against the poll tax and the literacy clause, correctly sensing the techniques by which blacks would be disenfranchised. After a stint in Congress, becoming known as a powerful speaker, he resigned and spent the bulk of his energies helping to put into office a reform governor and constructive policies. Appointed speaker, he used that office to stock the committees with able individuals, some of them white and Democrats. Consequently, he became one of the powerful blacks in the state. When the compromise was hacked out in Congress in 1877, Afro-American legislators in South Carolina, as elsewhere, found their unstable positions eliminated and their power emasculated. Despite Elliott's election as attorney general, he was mangled in the intricacies of state and national politics and was legally forced out by the redeeming Democrats. Elliott attempted, unsuccessfully, to recoup his power by acting as floor manager for John Sherman's candidacy at the Republican National Convention in 1880. By that time he was a special inspector of



customs for the Treasury Department in Charleston.

The thrust of the book is focused upon the political infighting in South Carolina and the interrelationships between blacks and whites in their attempts to deal with the problems wrought by a sudden leveling of status. Similar to other blacks, by the end of his life Elliott "was all too aware that the revolution to which he devoted his life had faltered" (p. 290).

JOSEPH BOSKIN  
Boston University

TOM E. TERRILL. *The Tariff, Politics, and American Foreign Policy, 1874-1901*. (Contributions in American History, number 31.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. x, 306. \$12.00.

Though he acknowledges his ties to William Appleman Williams, Professor Terrill has no apparent quarrel with Paul Holbo's judgment that "far more was involved in the tangle of tariff politics than a search for foreign markets." Carefully and clearly he shows the many facets of the tariff issue: high wages for American workers versus cheap goods for consumers, governmental stimulus to economic growth as against special largess for favored interests, ideological battles over the principle of laissez faire, the use of the tariff issue by party leaders to starve off divisive quarrels over the currency, even the simple need for each party to establish its own political identity. Indeed, one of the strengths of this thoroughly researched study is its presentation of the familiar reciprocity-foreign-market theme in its full political context. There is no effort to oversimplify the story or to ignore any of its divergent aspects.

Nevertheless, among these various themes Terrill finds a "fundamental consensus among American leaders about American foreign policy and the relationship of the tariff to that policy" (p. 97) appearing in the 1880s and 1890s. Originally "a small group of Democratic leaders, guided by David Wells and Abram Hewitt, turned to a free-trade materials strategy designed primarily to expand the foreign sales of American manufacturers. Republican leaders—first James Blaine, then Chester A. Arthur and Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, and later Benjamin Harrison—answered with their reciprocity strategy. They hoped to keep protectionism largely intact while expanding overseas" (p. 214). The opposing party positions came to full flower under the respective presidencies of Cleveland and McKinley. But the difference

was only tactical: the common goal was the expansion of foreign markets through manipulation of the tariff.

One may pay tribute to the substantial merits of this relatively short but significant work while questioning some of its interpretations. If there was a consensus such as the author describes, it must have been a limited one. By Terrill's own account, the interest of most manufacturers in foreign markets was sporadic and transient until the great depression of the 1890s, while even after that "congressional Republicans were only mildly inclined to deviate from rigid protectionism" (p. 201). With the death of William McKinley, the tariff reciprocity approach quickly lost strength, not to come into its own until Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. In short, while Terrill convincingly elucidates the thinking of a number of important political leaders on the subject, he shows with equal clarity that the implementation of their ideas through legislation and treaties was fragmentary, short-lived, and of limited importance except as it revealed their general views on foreign policy.

Such matters, however, fall well within the normal range of scholarly disputation. It is perhaps more important to note that this book should be of value to scholars of widely differing views. It is impressively grounded in government documents and other primary sources and shows a good grasp of the partisan politics of the time. Clear and informative, it condenses a great deal of scholarship into a short compass; it is a major and welcome new addition to the literature of a difficult subject.

DAVID HEALY  
University of Wisconsin—  
Milwaukee

KENNETH J. HAGAN. *American Gunboat Diplomacy and the Old Navy, 1877-1889*. (Contributions in Military History, 4.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. x, 262. \$11.50.

This small book is the fourth study in the series known as Greenwood's Contributions in Military History. The author demonstrates the consistency of United States naval diplomacy in the pre-Mahanian era of wooden warships just before the new steel navy was built. The book's major theme is that United States naval operations from 1877 to 1889 were designed to develop a possible market for exports in underdeveloped or "semi-civilized" parts of the world. The author first discusses naval strategy as it was debated by three admirals, David D. Porter,



Stephen B. Luce, and Robert W. Shufeldt, and by a large group of younger and subordinate officers. While all participants in the debate held varying views on technological issues, they agreed that the basic mission of the navy was to show the flag and to protect American citizens, property, and commerce. The second part of the book is divided into chapters covering diplomatic events and encounters in various geographic regions. It traces naval operations in Liberia and the Congo, East African waters, the Indian Ocean, China, and Latin America.

Hagan stresses naval policy in Central America since the area reflected the national concern of the United States with any canal or waterway that might be built between the Atlantic and the Pacific. His chapter on Panamanian intervention in the 1880s is excellent and reveals much hitherto unknown data. It is shown that United States diplomats and navalists even hoped initially to penetrate the markets of Liberia and the Congo, but the thrust of European imperialism circumvented the effort as it did in several other remote regions. On the other hand, the small United States Asiatic Squadron off the China coast followed an interventionist policy and cooperated with European nations to protect Western lives and property.

In one sense this study is an extension of the book by Charles Oscar Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778-1883* (1912), but it is more penetrating and interpretive. Highly readable and flawless, it is thoroughly researched from manuscript sources located largely in the National Archives and the Library of Congress and from numerous published sources. Its chief values are that it helps to fill the gap in our knowledge of diplomatic and naval history between the eras of the Civil War and the expansionism of the 1890s and to show that American isolationism was indeed a myth. The book has detailed footnotes, a selected bibliography, and an analytical index.

BENJAMIN F. GILBERT  
San Jose State University

HERBERT APTHEKER, editor. *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois*. Volume 1, *Selections, 1877-1934*. [Amherst:] University of Massachusetts Press. 1973. Pp. xxv, 507. \$20.00.

Herbert Aptheker and W. E. B. Du Bois were related by friendship, sympathy, and circumstance, making it fateful that the one's papers should be edited by the other. This project

was begun in 1946 when Du Bois was seventy-eight years old. They had kindred interests even then. Both were scholars of Afro-American history, persuaded toward a reinterpretation of American history through a radical and Marxian perspective. Through the next ten years, their shared experience as targets of McCarthyism welded the bond even closer. Fellow historians were shamefully feckless to infringements of their civil liberties and academic freedom. The resulting isolation probably strengthened the resolve that Aptheker be the custodian of Du Bois's literary remains, even though that choice (because of Aptheker's continued radicalism) would make it harder to find sponsorship for the project. It is now twelve years since Du Bois's death, and the first of a projected three volumes of selected correspondence is in hand.

Aptheker has limited this collection to representative letters "having significant historical and public quality." The major issues are represented: Booker T. Washington, the NAACP, changing political positions, World War I, Pan-Africanism, and the depression. Since Du Bois's life was principally involved in public issues, such an emphasis seems reasonable. Yet it is just these matters that have been, heretofore, most widely published through Du Bois's scholarship, journalism, autobiographies, and novels. Those who have read widely will find little new in this volume. There are details that we would not otherwise have, of course. Letters of O. G. Villard and Arthur Spingarn carry the full weight of white condescension against which Du Bois struggled. Du Bois's own public image, his imperiousness as well as his integrity, is clear.

What has always been obscure, however—Du Bois's private and personal character—is nowhere revealed. Despite the fact that he lived apart from his family for long stretches of time, there is no correspondence with Nina Gomer Du Bois, his first wife. Except for three letters to his young daughter, there is no really private correspondence.

One must question Aptheker's equation of historical significance with public quality. That judgment has made this volume less important than it might have been. Since this vast collection, "tens of thousands of documents and letters," has remained in the editor's hands and out of the view of other scholars, and since his introduction says nothing about its contents, it is impossible to say how wise a selection this is. Aptheker should provide a full description of the contents of the collection,

and he must devote more than a scant paragraph to the rationale of his selection. Perhaps these omissions will be corrected in forthcoming volumes.

This is a welcome volume. Herbert Aptheker should be commended for his care and persistence. But after such a long wait, scholars must still see the full collection to find out more than they must know already.

NATHAN IRVIN HUGGINS  
Columbia University

CARTER E. BOREN *et al.* *Essays on the Gilded Age*. Introduction by JENKINS GARRETT. Edited by MARGARET FRANCINE MORRIS. (The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures: 7.) Austin: University of Texas Press, for the University of Texas at Arlington. 1973. Pp. 108. \$5.00.

This book is composed of four essays that were delivered as the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures at the University of Texas at Arlington. The essays are uneven in quality and interest. The first, written by Carter E. Boren, argues that Protestantism in America was "a unifying force in nineteenth-century American culture." Based almost entirely on secondary sources, the essay relies heavily on the work of Willard Sperry, William Warren Sweet, Sidney E. Mead, and Winthrop Hudson. Indeed, twenty-four of the eighty-seven footnotes refer to two books by Hudson. At best, the essay is a useful review and summary of some of the standard historiographical work on Protestantism in the nineteenth century. In the next two essays, Robert W. Amsler argues that science and technology had not opened up a new frontier by 1900 comparable to the disappearing geographical frontier, while Audra L. Prewitt explores the origins of the legal reformers who later participated in the Progressive Movement.

The last essay, entitled "America's First Environmental Challenge, 1865-1920," is the most interesting in the book. Based on primary research and an understanding of recent secondary literature, the essay also possesses the most value for historians. H. Wayne Morgan first summarizes the efforts of Americans to deal with the problems of air, sewage, water, and noise pollution as well as early attempts to understand the relationship between population and the environment. He concludes that Americans met their challenge with technical imagination and inventiveness, but that "the failure to question basic social values that promoted waste and inhibited social planning"

prevented any fundamental resolution of the environmental dilemmas.

The essays are brief and well written. They possess the virtue of dealing briefly with important topics that interest the historian and the general reader. But the second and third essays are too brief for their topics, and only the last successfully combines brevity and analysis to add to our understanding of the Gilded Age.

J. PERRY LEAVELL, JR.  
Drew University

STEPHAN THERNSTROM. *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1860-1970*. (Harvard Studies in Urban History, published in cooperation with the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 345. \$12.00.

This new study of the common people of Boston, and especially their occupational career patterns between 1880 and 1970, is based on a careful, computer-assisted analysis of a sample of about eight thousand adult males drawn from such sources as federal census schedules, marriage license applications, birth records, and city directories. The resulting data constitute the longest and fullest series of mobility measurements yet published and provide a firm foundation for broad generalizations about the nature of societal processes in large metropolitan areas.

In his earlier study of Newburyport, Stephan Thernstrom was pessimistic about the economic opportunities available to laborers and their sons. In *The Other Bostonians*, however, he unveils a remarkably fluid city in which there was substantial and relatively constant upward intergenerational mobility. Within this broad pattern he finds important variations among various ethnic groups and between the races. Russian Jews achieved extraordinary success, surpassing even the Yankees in the second generation; the Irish and the Italians fared very poorly; black Americans remained mired in the weakest economic positions. In a useful final chapter, Thernstrom brings together the research of a number of other scholars in order to compare the Boston case with the national pattern. The Hub, it seems, was much closer to the norm than Newburyport.

As with most historical questions, the incompleteness of the data is a persistent problem. For example, the city directories yielded

information only about the city of Boston and a few inner suburbs. This is an unfortunate and probably unavoidable circumstance particularly damaging in this metropolis surrounded by independent communities even before the turn of the century. In addition, there are the usual difficulties and compromises that beset any mobility inquiry—the inaccuracies of the sources, the incompatibility of the cohorts, the crudity of classification schemes, and the lack of information about skill levels. Suffice it to say that Thernstrom is completely open about his research problems and in fact usually anticipates objections or questions about procedure. On balance, his judgment appears to be excellent and his decisions entirely reasonable.

Despite its general excellence, the book suffers from an almost exclusive reliance upon quantifiable sources. Daily and ethnic newspapers, diaries, other forms of manuscript sources, and most types of government and business records were ignored. As a result, the text is primarily an elaboration and explanation of the eighty-one tables. Thernstrom conveys very little sense of Boston as a place; he does not mention its port, its neighborhoods, its transportation system, or its colorful political figures. By changing a few words, the subject could as easily have been Spokane or Buffalo.

To be sure, Thernstrom's purpose was to examine poverty and progress in "the" American metropolis and thus the search was for general patterns, not local peculiarities. He disclaims any intention of writing a popular book and argues that quantitative techniques are appropriate to the questions at hand. But one can concede those points and still insist that this is not a zero sum proposition. The decision to count need not be an exclusive research strategy, especially when, as in this case, so many of the conclusions have to be hedged because of small sample sizes and similar problems.

Within the limits he has set for himself, Thernstrom has written a superb book. It is the best and most ambitious analysis of social mobility yet to appear and will undoubtedly serve as a model for future studies. Not the least important of the lessons to be learned in its pages is that it is possible to move clearly, logically, and systematically through complex historical problems.

KENNETH T. JACKSON  
Columbia University

WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR. *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association: Federal Regulation and the Cattleman's Last Frontier*. [Columbia: University of Missouri Press.] 1973. Pp. 154. \$8.50.

An Oklahoman once described his state as "shaped like a heavy-handed pistol pointing west." If he carried this simile further, the area known as "No Man's Land" would form the barrel of the revolver, the Cherokee Nation in the upper right-hand corner would form the hammer, and the Cherokee Outlet would form the cartridge chamber or cylinder. The 6.5 million acres of land situated between the 96th and 100th meridian was deeded to the Cherokee Nation by the federal government in 1819 as an outlet to the West. Since the sixty-mile-wide belt of prairie grasslands had been and would remain the hunting grounds of various tribes of the Southern Plains, the Cherokee found it worthless until cattlemen from Texas and Kansas moved in during the post-Civil War decades.

At first, the Cherokees collected a small toll for each longhorn steer driven up the Chisholm and Western trails, which bisected the Outlet enroute to Abilene, Dodge City, and other Kansas cattle towns. As the markets at the railheads became saturated and cattle had to be held over, ranchers resorted to grazing their herds in the Outlet immediately south of the Kansas line. The Cherokees assessed an annual fee of fifty cents per head, but the task of collecting it from all of the ranchers proved impossible. Eventually, the Indians leased the entire area to an organization of Westerners known as the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association. Nonmembers were driven out and by 1884 the Cherokee Nation was realizing \$200,000 in annual revenues. But trouble from various sources was fast reaching a climax.

For one thing, farmers believed that they had as much right to the Outlet as cattlemen, or even the Indians. Groups of "boomers" moved in from time to time, only to be driven out by the United States Army. In 1891 the federal government also expelled the cattlemen from the Outlet and forced the Cherokees to relinquish title to the entire area for \$8,595,736.12, considerably less than the \$30 million offered by the Lucas Cattle Company of Colorado Springs. A short time later the former Indian lands were thrown open to homesteaders in what turned out to be the largest of the various Oklahoma land "runs."

According to the author, the sale of the Cherokee Outlet marked the passing of the

cattlemen's last frontier. His brief, well-written and copiously illustrated history of the association documents the role of federal governmental agencies in dealing with both white ranchers and Indian entrepreneurs. The book contains little information that is not already familiar to students of Oklahoma history. But it is a straightforward story, stripped of the romantic notion that cattlemen were rugged individuals molded in the image of John Wayne. Rather, the ones dealt with in the present study relied more on cooperative effort and due process of law in preference to direct recourse or personal action—even during times of extreme provocation.

W. EUGENE HOLLON  
University of Toledo

D. JEROME TWETON. *The Marquis de Morès: Dakota Capitalist, French Nationalist*. Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies. 1972. Pp. x, 249. \$8.95.

The marquis de Morès was typical of the gallery of individuals who appeared larger than life on the American frontier and gave it so much of its bravado and color. Whether the West bred individualism or merely attracted it has long been the subject of debate among historians, but few would question that the relationship exists.

A French nobleman who married the daughter of a prominent New York banker, the marquis arrived in the United States in 1882 and immediately speculated heavily in the Western cattle industry. Determined to become "the richest financier in the world" he quickly acquired a ranch in the Dakota Badlands—one of his neighbors was Theodore Roosevelt—began a small town that he named after his wife (Medora), and erected a slaughterhouse with a view to shipping dressed beef to Eastern markets in refrigerator cars. When this scheme failed he plunged into one venture after another, all of which came to grief. Five years later, his American business interests a shambles, he returned to France and undertook an ill-fated effort at railway building in French Indo-China. Turning to politics he soon became one of France's most outspoken nationalists and anti-Semites. After spearheading a campaign to discredit Georges Clemenceau, whom he believed was acting as a British agent, the marquis embarked on a crusade against the British in Africa, where he was ambushed and killed while leading a one-man expedition in the eastern Sahara.

In seeking "to sort fact from fiction and to

present a well-balanced study of the Marquis' American and French careers" (p. ix) the author has set for himself an ambitious task. Because the marquis left few private records D. Jerome Tweton was forced to rely primarily on newspaper reports, admittedly "not a happy situation for the biographer to face" (p. vii). Nevertheless, by judiciously sifting through the available accounts, he has recaptured much of the flavor and excitement of this flamboyant Frenchman and his times and provided the first comprehensive account of the marquis's public career. He is less successful in illuminating in any significant way many of the larger themes of either frontier or French historiography.

Tweton has a ready eye for the apt phrase and telling detail, and his writing is generally straightforward and well paced. Six useful maps and sixteen pages of well-chosen photographs enhance the volume. The footnotes, unfortunately, are inconveniently tucked away at the end of the book.

JAMES E. HENDRICKSON  
University of Victoria

SALVATORE PRISCO III. *John Barrett, Progressive Era Diplomat: A Study of a Commercial Expansionist, 1887-1920*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 149. \$5.75.

In this study Salvatore Prisco examines John Barrett as a "concrete universal" representing "the new generation of American diplomats" in the Progressive Era (p. x). After a disconnected sketch of his subject's background and the milieu of economic expansionism in the 1890s, the author presents the highlights of Barrett's career as minister to Siam (appointed at age twenty-seven); advocate of commercial development in China; minister in quick succession to Argentina, Panama, and Colombia; and finally his lengthy service from 1907 to 1920 as director general of what became the Pan-American Union. Barrett makes a good subject for a study of economic expansion, for his efforts as both diplomat and publicist all revolved around seeking to expand American markets in Asia and Latin America. He was the perpetual booster of American industry with a firm belief in Yankee efficiency and superiority. A consistent opponent of territorial annexation and armed intervention, Barrett sought to extend United States influence in the developing areas of the world through trade and the sharing of educational and scientific information.



Although it contains some fascinating details, Prisco's thin volume is ultimately disappointing. The author frequently credits Barrett with advancing an innovative proposal, yet he seldom places it in context nor shows what impact it had. The examination of economic expansionism does not proceed beyond Barrett sufficiently to show whether he was representative of Progressive-era diplomatists or not, and Prisco relies heavily on two unpublished studies of Barrett, a biography by his niece and a dissertation by George B. Lane on Barrett's years as head of the Pan-American Union. The book is written poorly, and the author attributes to terms such as "progressive business interests" and "commercial publicist" a self-evident meaning and precision that they fail to convey.

While John Barrett was not a major figure in American diplomacy, he did develop significant ideas that were incorporated in the Open Door policy and in multilateralism toward Latin America. He deserves a more wide-ranging and incisive analysis than Prisco has provided.

SAMUEL F. WELLS, JR.  
University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

JOHN S. GOFF. *George W. P. Hunt and His Arizona*. Pasadena, Calif.: Socio Technical Publications. 1973. Pp. 286. \$10.00.

Historians of the Southwest will welcome a biography of George W. P. Hunt, Arizona's first governor under statehood, although this work will fall short of their expectations. John S. Goff, a member of the faculty of Phoenix College, is well known among Western scholars. In addition to several useful articles about the territorial justices of Arizona, he is the author of *Arizona Civilization* (1968) and the co-author of *Arizona, Past and Present* (1970). A biography of the son of Abraham Lincoln, *Robert Todd Lincoln: A Man in His Own Right* (1969), rounds out the writer's interest.

George W. P. Hunt participated in the political affairs of Arizona from 1892, when he entered the territorial legislature, until 1934, the year of his death. He was elected the first governor under statehood, in 1912, and won reelection six additional times. Aside from a brief stint as ambassador to Siam in 1920-21, Hunt confined his remarkable energy to the promotion of progressive democratic reforms in Arizona. (The author characterizes him as "often more Populist than Progressive.") Hunt upheld the rights of labor, detested capital punishment,

and deplored war. Yet, he shared the narrower views of the Progressives—segregated schools and the Americanization of minorities—and thus appealed to a wide category of Arizonans, the so-called "Texas Democrats." He delayed the construction of the great Colorado River Project in order to make the Southwesterners "aware of the water problem." In his last term, 1931-32, the governor experienced the frustrations of the depression, which exceeded the limited powers of the state executive to contain it.

The subject of George W. P. Hunt is difficult for the biographer. As governor of Arizona, he guided the state through the turbulent era of transition from frontier settlements to sophisticated communities. The author employs the technique of political biography and, in so doing, he confines his sources to the Hunt Papers and a few newspapers. A very narrow work results. The writer neglects the "times" and leaves unexplained the puzzling fact that, while the Arizonans elected Hunt to the governorship on seven occasions, they seldom provided him with a loyal following in the legislature. Much of the material of this biography is new and of considerable interest, but it is often undigested and the reader must struggle through inordinately long paragraphs about recurring political campaigns. Photographs and a section of biographical notes contribute to the book; but, aside from its attraction to students of Arizona history, historians must still await a full-bodied biography of this controversial statesman.

LARRY D. BALL  
Arkansas State University

JUNE SOCHEN. *Movers and Shakers: American Women Thinkers and Activists, 1900-1970*. [New York:] Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Company. 1973. Pp. xi, 320. \$8.95.

In her preface June Sochen defines her movers and shakers as "selected women writers and feminist intellectuals who groped and struggled with the narrow definition of woman's role imposed by society" in twentieth-century America. She has dealt with this theme before, in *The New Woman: Feminism in Greenwich Village, Nineteen-Ten to Nineteen-Twenty* (1972), a rather thin book derived from her Northwestern University dissertation. *Movers and Shakers* is a more ambitious undertaking covering four periods: the Progressive era, the interwar decades, the post-World War II years, and the 1960s.



The scholar will expect a synthesis of feminist thought and action within and across these boundaries of time, but the author seems to have been more interested in contemporary feminism than in intellectual history. The book is oddly reminiscent of works published during the forty-year ebb tide of feminism by dedicated and industrious amateurs. At every point it lacks depth and cohesion. The selected feminists and their ideas are introduced in a series of disconnected summaries, with only elementary efforts to trace roots or interrelationships. We find no account, for instance, of the connections, intellectual and personal, between Village radicals and academic feminists at Columbia like Leta Stetter Hollingworth and Elsie Clews Parsons. As presented here, Zona Gale, Fannie Hurst, and Freda Kirchwey seem an odd combination; actually these and other successful young women writers and journalists in the New York of the early twenties banded together to continue the woman's rights crusade by forming the Lucy Stone League to encourage married women to retain their maiden names. (One ex-Lucy Stoner, Doris Fleischman Bernays, could have exemplified the transition to the hearth-and-home fifties, when her book *A Wife Is Many Women* was a best seller.) We are distracted by pages devoted to Freda Kirchwey's editorial stands in *The Nation* and to other nonfeminist activities of some writers and intellectuals, and confused to encounter women who were neither (Lady Bird Johnson, sandwiched between Betty Friedan and Masters's and Johnson's *Human Sexual Response*).

Historians will recoil from many of the author's generalizations, large and small. On the opposition: "The preservers of the status quo, in 1900 as in 1970, of course saw every secretary, every clubwoman, and every professional woman as a vital destroyer of the home and family" (p. 13). On the woman's club movement of 1900, already strongly civic-minded: "Instead of making their families' clothes, women attended lectures on the latest piece of romantic fiction" (p. 5). On the 1920s: "The flapper image dominated; its force dissipated all others" (p. 104). And on one special heroine: "The only woman in this whole century who emerged as a popular example of a fully realized human being was Eleanor Roosevelt" (p. 151).

One wishes for better justice to the vital and venturesome women who lie inert on these pages—and perhaps for a nod in passing to Mabel Dodge Luhan for the book's title. *Movers and Shakers* may have some value for

consciousness raising. The historian seeking an understanding of women in twentieth-century society will be better served by the recent books of William Chafe, Stanley Lemons, and Anne Scott.

JANET WILSON JAMES  
Boston College

LAURENCE VEYSEY. *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Counter-Cultures in America*. New York: Harper and Row. 1973. Pp. xi, 495. \$15.00.

Mr. Veysey has given us a superior book. It is an exercise in the way a historian can "make" a history without violation of objective standards. The author wanted to come to an appraisal of radical communitarianism. His quest required looking into a greater variety of radical ventures than could fall within one period or conscious tradition. So he selected, out of different moments and impulses in twentieth-century America, some radical communities sufficiently similar, and sufficiently unlike, that he could make them speak elaborately to one another. Although the radical tradition he has uncovered is his composite, it is real in the genuine argument that can be set up among his communities. Veysey hit upon an intellectually engaging distinction between the anarchist community, in which the person is expected freely to develop his capacities, and the mystical community, wherein the member—under the domination of a guru (here the author should exclude Christian mysticism)—subdues the inferior self and seeks to be remade and taken into the cosmic order. Veysey achieves an extraordinarily close and versatile examination of his subjects. His intellectual perceptions are excellent: his contrast, for instance, between the older anarchist view of the free self as centered in the controlling will and the newer radical concept of the self as a complex of emotions and urges.

It appears a temptation of radical experimentalism to reduce the cosmos and the moral problem to a clean formula pointing to a utopian or a perfectionist program. Veysey himself senses the variousness and the stubborn mysteriousness of existence, and the limits and contradictions that attend the human project; but some of his admirable communitarians display little feeling for these things—though he includes such groups as the Rockridge community, which seems content to live modestly with the goods the earth awards to hard work. The book might have balanced its story with

some account of other radical alternatives that are at home with the world's intractabilities. Two examples come to mind. The rich anarchist imagination of Paul Goodman envisioned a free communal life all full of rough edges: the confusions, gropings, and painfully acquired self-disciplines whereby individual human beings complete themselves. And Christianity, whether pietistic or monastic, has sought to break and renew a human nature that may not in this time and world shed its capacity for evil, but must work its slow way toward mystery through a contingent universe.

THOMAS R. WEST

*Catholic University of America*

EUGENE LEVY. *James Weldon Johnson: Black Leader, Black Voice.* (Negro American Biographies and Autobiographies.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 380. \$14.50.

Beginning in 1970 several biographies of history-making Afro-Americans of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have appeared in print. Most noteworthy among these is Louis R. Harlan's first volume in his projected two-volume biography of Booker T. Washington, but other significant books are Stephen R. Fox's *Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter*; Emma Lou Thornbrough's *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist*; Jervis Anderson's *A. Philip Randolph*; David M. Tucker's *Lieutenant Lee of Beale Street*; and David Lewis's *King: A Critical Biography*. Further enlarging our knowledge of the Afro-American past are the recently published memoirs of John Roy Lynch and Ida B. Wells. A most worthy addition to this growing list of biographies and autobiographies is Eugene Levy's book.

As John Hope Franklin has written in his foreword to Levy's book, James Weldon Johnson "would have made his mark if he had done no more than edit the *New York Age*, or written the *Shoo-Fly Regiment*, 'Lift Every Voice and Sing,' and *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, or become the first black executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." But these were only some among the many accomplishments of a person who, Franklin has added, was "one of the very unusual men of this century." Johnson was also a high school principal in his hometown of Jacksonville, Florida; a lawyer; a diplomat as U.S. counsel in Venezuela and Nicaragua; the author not only of a novel and "The Negro National Anthem"

but also of lyrics for "coon songs and ragtime," newspaper editorials, poems, and an autobiography; a progenitor of and active participant in the Harlem Renaissance; and a professor at Fisk University. In terms of the diversity and high level of his artistic, intellectual, professional, and political attainments, Johnson had been surpassed among twentieth-century Afro-Americans only by W. E. B. Du Bois, with whom he shared an intense commitment to both first-class citizenship for the nation's blacks and the need to expand white awareness of and black pride in "the race's past and present accomplishments." But at one crucial point Johnson and Du Bois diverged; Johnson, unlike Du Bois, did not "reject the desirability of ultimate assimilation, but [he believed] if he could convince both black and white Americans of the race's fundamental cultural contributions to American society, then the process of blending would become far more palatable."

To deal with such a multifaceted person requires competency in a variety of fields, and this competency Professor Levy displays in admirable ways, especially in his handling of literature and music. Moreover, Levy has had to do a prodigious amount of research, and this is reflected in his extensive bibliography. There is, however, one discordant note in this positive review: James Weldon Johnson, the person with feelings and probably self-doubts, seldom emerges from these pages. It seems from Levy's book, for example, that Johnson easily and naturally piled achievement upon achievement, but one still wonders about the sources of his talent and motivation. It is insufficient simply to state that Johnson "dreamed of making a 'name' for himself," or to quote from a friend who wrote: "Jim, I think you are more ambitious for honor and fame than for anything else." Johnson was a man of emotional detachment, and perhaps the sources for definitive statements about his motivation are lacking, but Levy could have and, I think, should have speculated about what drove this remarkable person to such heights of accomplishment.

WILLIAM M. TUTTLE, JR.  
*University of Kansas*

THOMAS D. CLARK. *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer. Volume 2, In Mid-Passage.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1973. Pp. xviii, 429. \$17.50.

The objective scholarship, lively style, and probing analysis of educational and institu-

tional problems in a state and regional context that marked Thomas D. Clark's first volume of *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer* are sustained in the second volume. This tells the story of the transformation of the small college of 1902 into the broad-based university of 1937. In these thirty-five years President William Lowe Bryan dominated the institution. Professor Clark skillfully analyzes and balances the contributions and limitations of this complex and paradoxical man: a rural patrician, a puritan of conservative religious and moral values, in many ways an intellectual liberal, and always a strong personality. Full account is taken of the impact of revolutionary changes in American life on the operational management of the institution and on the relationships of administration, trustees, politicians, faculty, and students. Despite the continuing battle for financial support, for acceptance of the university's role in the competition with other state institutions, despite the problems associated with the First World War, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Depression, President Bryan established the base of professional education, including medicine, engineering, and music. He also played a major role in the national recognition of Indiana's status as a university. Unlike Wisconsin, Indiana took full advantage of the availability of federal funds in the New Deal period for physical expansion of the plant, to which Clark devotes detailed attention. The role of athletics, perhaps appropriately, receives as much space as the account of the scholarly achievements of the faculty.

Those interested in explanations of how Indiana has subsequently come to be the distinguished university that it is will be rewarded by Clark's account of the bold and even brutal self-study and assessment of 1937-38 that provided Indiana with a blueprint for a very different kind of institution. The account of this turning point from an admitted mediocrity to distinction under the leadership of Herman Wells, who became president just as this volume ends, whets the appetite for what we hope will be a third volume of *Indiana University's* history.

MERLE CURTI  
*University of Wisconsin,  
Madison*

JOHN D. BUENKER. *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. xi, 299. \$8.95.

For those familiar with Professor Buenker's numerous journal articles concerning urban lib-

eralism and progressive reform, this book will serve as a handy compilation. It does not venture far beyond these articles, but solidly documents J. Joseph Huthmacher's thesis of a dozen years ago that the urban lower class contributed to progressive reform.

In constructing his argument, Buenker elaborates upon several subthemes. He adheres to the coalition theory of progressivism, noting cautiously and correctly that while the urban ethnic working class supported many progressive reforms, it did not have sole responsibility for their enactment and implementation; progressive reform resulted from the interest and activity of several groups, which sometimes, but not always, worked together. Another theme, the importance of ethno-cultural issues such as prohibition and sabbatarian laws, emerges when Buenker investigates why certain groups in the coalition were often at cross purposes. Here, while considering other variables, he puts the ritualist-pietist religious dichotomy to good use. Rather than viewing political bosses and machines in the context of morality and emphasizing corruption, the author's third theme focuses on the functions of the machines, such as providing welfare services for their constituents. The book provides a clear understanding of how and why these machines supported many progressive reforms, both structural and social, once believed antithetical to the nature of machine rule.

The support of reform generally by the urban liberals, especially welfare reform, dovetails into another theme of the book, the continuity between the Progressive Era and the New Deal; the roots of the national welfare state (if such a thing actually exists) were firmly planted before the depression decade. In the final theme, if there is retrospective continuity, the author also finds continuity for our own time. He suggests that the tradition of urban liberalism should have meaning for both today's urban ethnics and for middle-class liberals.

The book, which is largely a synthetic work, focuses on reform legislation passed in the industrial states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio. Sometimes chapters tend to become repetitive as the fate of individual reforms is played over and over again state by state. Since state legislatures are the focus, roll call analysis of voting might have permitted the author to make more precise statements regarding the legislative behavior of urban representatives and senators. Electoral

voting return analysis, such as that cited by the author and undertaken for California progressivism by Michael Rogin and John Shover, might have been attempted to highlight urban ethnic working-class political behavior in other parts of the nation.

Nevertheless, by placing into historical perspective the relationship of the urban ethnic working class to liberal reform, John Buenker implies that Archie Bunker might not have been such a bad fellow after all. As a result, his is a most useful and suggestive study providing insight into the meaning of liberalism in American society and raising many questions still to be answered.

BRUCE M. STAVE  
University of Connecticut

LAWRENCE R. GUSTIN. *Billy Durant: Creator of General Motors*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1973. Pp. 285. \$8.95.

One of the significant gaps in the literature of automotive and business history is the lack of a definitive full-length biography of William C. Durant—the founder of General Motors and Chevrolet, the “leading bull” in the great stock market boom and crash of the late 1920s, and probably the most flamboyant entrepreneur in modern business history. Durant’s contributions to the development of our most important industry rank with those of Henry Ford and Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.; and his legendary market manipulations make him a central figure in the history of Wall Street. Yet Durant’s fame progressively waned after his brokers sold him out and his last automotive venture, Durant Motors, collapsed at the onset of the Great Depression. By the time of his death in 1947 the once indomitable creator of business empires was an obscure personality outside the automobile industry and his home town of Flint, Michigan. And his historical reputation remains clouded by conjecture and myth largely because researchers continue to be stymied by the sparseness and inaccessibility of essential primary data.

Gustin—the automotive editor of the *Flint Journal*—attempts to resolve this problem by going beyond a decent synthesis of the standard sources and a scrupulous search of the public record to base his account of Durant “in part on unpublished manuscripts and documents and on interviews with his widow, two of his personal secretaries and others who knew him well.” Unfortunately, this turns out to mean

heavy reliance on a 600-page industrial history of Flint compiled in the early 1940s by Frank M. Rodolf, then a reporter and librarian for the *Flint Journal*, and on Durant’s fabled memoirs, which, according to Gustin, consist of “seven short type-written chapters, plus scattered notes . . . not always accurate—much of it written in the 1930s and 1940s, decades after the events described.” It seems obvious from Gustin’s text and sparse footnotes that he has examined few of Durant’s personal papers beyond these virtually useless memoirs and that he has done almost no research in the voluminous papers of John J. Carton, Durant’s personal attorney until 1921. The interviews with those close to Durant also fail to shed much new light on the central questions about significant aspects of Durant’s career—although Gustin does correct a number of minor factual errors. As one might expect from Gustin’s sources, Durant is far too uncritically interpreted from the myopic perspective of Flint local history.

While Gustin’s fact-laden book undoubtedly will be welcomed by Durant devotees and anyone interested in the history of Michigan, it falls short of satisfying the need of automotive and business historians for a definitive Durant biography. Whether this need will ever be satisfied depends on scholars obtaining access to Durant’s personal papers and the General Motors archives. Neither seems likely to occur in the near future.

JAMES J. FLINK  
University of California,  
Irvine

JOHN L. NETHERS. *Simeon D. Fess: Educator & Politician*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Pageant-Poseidon. 1973. Pp. xvii, 427. \$8.95.

Describing Simeon D. Fess as one of the “lesser great” of history, Professor John L. Nethers promises his readers “something more than a mere historiographical-biographical exercise.” Seeking to justify his study of a “relatively unknown historic figure,” he pledges to unveil the economic, political, and social forces of the Fess generation by discovering the relationship of the man to his generation.

There is no need to justify even a mere biography of a man who spent ten years as president of Antioch College, ten years in the lower house of Congress and twelve years in the upper house. Fess might not be a household word in the 1970s, but it was in the 1920s, for he was a man of considerable power and influence.



There is a need for a thorough analysis of a man who had the ear of three presidents and sat high in the councils of the Republican party, but Nethers has not provided it.

The major weakness of the book is inadequate research. Hamstrung by a dearth of personal papers, the author utilizes with some skill those remaining as well as the *Congressional Record* and numerous Ohio newspapers. Other primary sources, especially the manuscript collections noted in the bibliography, are only used sparingly. Nethers relies extensively on the suspect reminiscences of two Fess children, a family retainer, and two former secretaries, all quite elderly and of questionable objectivity and authority. A one-day interview with the eldest son is cited over fifty times.

In addition, for someone who promises to relate Fess to the great forces of his generation, Nethers expresses little appreciation for the secondary sources that could help illuminate those forces. His citations are devoid of the numerous studies of individuals, events, and issues of the Fess era published in the last decade, for example, Robert Murray's *Harding Era: Warren G. Harding and His Administration* (1969), Albert Romasco's *Poverty of Abundance: Hoover, the Nation, the Depression* (1965), or Roger Daniels's *The Bonus March: An Episode of the Great Depression* (1971). In their place are references to dated sources and to survey texts and readers. The study was originally a dissertation completed in 1964 and almost nothing has been done in the intervening years to improve and to refine it.

Because of the inadequate research, the reader is not even offered a biography of substance. The personal life of Fess beyond his childhood is scantily discussed in spite of the author's apparently close relationship with the family. Little or nothing is said about his role in Ohio politics; nor is there any elaboration on his rise to positions of power in the Senate and the Republican party. His relationship to other significant political figures is either handled superficially or ignored. Rarely does Nethers get inside the man and plumb the depths of motivation. When he does, as in his examination of how Fess reacted to the New Deal, the subject comes alive, but generally the reader is left with a flat, one-dimensional portrait of a complex individual.

The book sorely needed editorial assistance. Poor organization led to needless repetition, sometimes within the same page. The prose is pedestrian, often unnecessarily wordy, and sentences tend to be strung out. Within chapters,

the author jumped from topic to topic with minimal effort at transition and continuity.

Nethers is to be credited, however, for his objectivity and for his uncovering of some interesting facets of Fess's life. The revelation that J. Franklin Jameson drove Fess from the history department of the University of Chicago for failure to complete his doctorate is an interesting commentary on the professional standards of the day. But overall, the book does not live up to the author's promises and anyone interested in Fess could probably do as well by consulting Everett Walter's summary in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and William C. Murphy's "Preceptor Senatorium" in *American Mercury* (Dec., 1928).

LAWRENCE L. MURRAY

State University of New York,  
Fredonia

RICHARD FITZGERALD. *Art and Politics: Cartoonists of the Masses and Liberator*. (Contributions in American Studies, number 8.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 254. \$14.50.

This book is one of several—there will doubtless be others—that leave one vaguely uncomfortable with its major premise of radical sympathies. Joyce L. Kornbluh's *Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology* (1964), though filled with passionate antiestablishment materials, nevertheless, in format and gay colors looked made for the Yule season booklist and heaps of merry laughter and foragings under the Christmas tree. *Art and Politics* is dedicated "to the bunch at Ryan's Tavern who still quite justifiably blame the boss rather than themselves," but its acknowledgments of those who helped bring this book to fruition include slaves of the Ford Foundation, and staffs of the Hoover Institution, Lilly Library, and other salt mines.

The text, too, reflects the paradox of American largess and dissent, and this fact is compounded by the problem of art. The author has researched his cartoonists adequately. Art Young, Robert Minor, John Sloan, K. R. Chamberlain, and Maurice Becker evolved styles and themes that tell us much about the radical temper of the 1910s and beyond. But the author is not aware that there are problems of assessment. His footnotes are mere façades; he brings back from them only what he brought to them. "The American Communist Party of the 1930's had a view, known as 'socialist realism,' that art either had to be a



spontaneous expression of proletarian life or had to conform with the ideas of 'dialectical materialism.' . . . The relative mediocrity of such artists as John Sloan comes from their compulsion to reflect life rather than to create new forms. Becker, Minor, and Young on the other hand are interesting because they were not caught in the esthetic trap of having to reflect life" (p. 23). And again: "Even [Sloan's] . . . disapproving 'Women's Night Court' only says that the system of justice is hypocritical; it fails to say that the basic values of society are wrong" (p. 140).

The author is not aware that there are those who think, or thought, that the basic values of society were right, and that to demonstrate their invalidity and the proved rightness of his alternative values requires greater subtlety and a sounder grasp of artistic and human principles than is here indicated. His chapter on Robert Minor is particularly interesting, since he is aware that Minor became a notorious example of one who had abandoned art to become an exact carbon copy of anything the communists at home or abroad had decided to say that day or hour. His defense of Minor is worth quotation: "Minor was better at drawing than journalism, but there is a fine line between cartooning and journalism. His writing was a different side of the same coin, was not 'banal and boring,' and showed the same stark contrasts as his illustrations" (p. 110).

The record will show that knowledgeable individuals in the land believe that Sloan was a great artist, that the fine line is not between cartooning and journalism, but between treadmill drawing and writing and principles on one side, and art and humanity on the other, and that Minor's contributions as a political hack were not only banal and boring, but, on numerous occasions, and with due credit to Stalin's contributions to socialist realism, horrifying. Our twentieth-century decades have not been tranquil, and their art shows it. We will need more confrontations in the cultural spheres than we presently have, before we can hope for a more adequate sense of its failures and successes. Meanwhile, some sixty cartoons here, well reproduced, provide us with artifacts for substantive debate.

LOUIS FILLER  
Antioch College

JERVIS ANDERSON. *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1973. Pp. xiv, 398. \$12.50.

This sympathetic biography of A. Philip Randolph is a useful first account of the "presence emeritus" among today's black leaders. The material first appeared as a profile in the *New Yorker*. As a book it shows the strengths and weaknesses of its origins. Though there are no footnotes, Anderson makes it clear that he drew on published material, on manuscript sources, and on extensive interviews he conducted with Randolph and his close associates. The result is a clearly presented, sometimes superficial account of Randolph's career.

As biography it is strongest in the earlier chapters. Here we see Randolph growing up in turn-of-the-century Jacksonville, Florida, his move to New York and Harlem in 1911, and his early career as editor of the socialist magazine, *The Messenger*. Anderson does an effective job of setting each scene, and he is especially adept at creating evocative vignettes of such Randolph colleagues as Chandler Owen, W. A. Domingo, and George Schuyler. The author is much less successful in revealing his hero's basic psychological make-up. The reader is unsure, for example, of Randolph's self-image, which must have been positive to carry him through repeated failures.

Anderson's account flattens out after Randolph abjures socialism and begins in the mid-1920s to organize the sleeping-car porters into a viable union. As in the earlier chapters there are some crisp characterizations of Randolph and his co-workers as they struggled, unsuccessfully until 1937, to garner recognition from the Pullman Company. The story of how Randolph finally achieved recognition for his union is essentially a page in New Deal labor history. The centrality of the New Deal in Randolph's career goes a long way toward explaining his persistent efforts in the 1960s to make blacks an effective element in the coalition between the AFL-CIO and the liberal wing of the Democratic party.

Anderson's discussions of the first march on Washington movement, of Randolph's role in the AFL-CIO as a "critical but loyal ally," and of his influence in the civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s are neither descriptive enough to recapture the excitement of the era nor analytic enough to deepen our understanding of the man or the movements. The author indicates in his preface that he subtitled his book *A Biographical Portrait* to emphasize his modest goal of presenting selective aspects of Randolph's career. The next

biographer of A. Philip Randolph will have to risk more in order to achieve more.

EUGENE LEVY  
Carnegie-Mellon University

ROBERT G. WEISBORD. *Ebony Kinship: Africa, Africans, and the Afro-American*. Foreword by FLOYD B. MCKISSICK. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, number 14.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 256. \$10.95.

Although black nationalism in its emigrationist form is the theme of this book, Professor Weisbord never undertakes an analysis of the concept of nationalism and exhibits a willingness to accept uncritically the plethora of black nationalist slogans that have emerged in the twentieth century. In an attempt to demonstrate continuity of "back to Africa" schemes, the author does considerable violence to historical reality as he loosely associates the activities of such figures as Martin R. Delany, Edward M. Blyden, Benjamin Singleton, and Marcus Garvey to create the impression of a "movement" with similar historical origins and political purposes. The gross distortions resulting from this approach are magnified further by Weisbord's insistence on discussing these disparate efforts in a historical vacuum without significant reference to social and political changes in the United States. The failure to place black nationalist ideas and their organizational manifestations in the context of United States history is not compensated by any corresponding depth of analysis of a narrowly defined "black history." There is little evidence of research in previously unpublished sources, and it is not unusual for the interpretations of anecdotal evidence to be marred by astonishing glosses like "Harlem is unquestionably the heart of Black America . . ." (p. 204). The sporadic "back to Africa" enthusiasms of Harlem during periods of economic stress are therefore presented as being more representative of the black population than they were. Weisbord declines to offer any explanation as to why Garveyism failed to attract significant support in the South, or why there was a disproportionately high participation of West Indians in the movement. Even though the greater portion of the book is concerned with Marcus Garvey, the author has not produced a new or clearer understanding of Garvey or the impact of his organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Equally disappointing is the treatment of the

historical origins of related movements. The links between black American, Caribbean, and African developments remain virtually unexamined. Weisbord writes, for example, in his rambling discussion of the impact of Ethiopia on New World blacks, that to "understand the origins of Rastafarianism one must recall that it was to Jamaica that Garvey had gone after his deportation from the United States in December 1927. He remained there until 1935 and it was during that period that Rastafarianism was born. The actual connection between Garvey and the Rastas is nebulous" (p. 123). Perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book is the breezy discussion of the impact of African political independence and "black power" slogans on black Americans in the 1960s. Punctuating his loose narrative by condescending familiarity with his protagonists such as "Stokely" and "Eldridge," Weisbord also trivializes vast changes in cultural and intellectual outlook by concentration on clothing fashions among some black Americans, characteristically attempting to support his argument by reporting that in 1971 "forty-nine military barbers and beauticians underwent a hairstyling course under the direction of a well-known black hair stylist" (p. 194).

Measured by contemporary standards of historical scholarship, this book does not represent a contribution to a subject worthy of professional research and analysis.

MICHAEL R. WINSTON  
Howard University

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH. *Lawyer's Lawyer: The Life of John W. Davis*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 648. \$15.00.

This book is a superb biography that may be read to advantage by any student of twentieth-century United States history. John William Davis, who served as a West Virginia legislator, two-term congressman, solicitor general, ambassador to Great Britain, 1924 Democratic candidate for president, and chief spokesman for the anti-FDR Liberty League, hardly qualified as a faceless corporation lawyer. Yet on December 7, 1953, when he stepped to the bar to argue his 140th case before the United States Supreme Court, he had all but faded from popular memory. Within the legal profession, however, he had become a living legend, and not the least of his achievements was to have orally argued more cases before the Supreme Court than any other twentieth-century attorney. In this, his final appearance, he argued

for South Carolina that segregated education did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. As evidence of his substantial commitment to that cause, he appeared without fee. Opposing counsel Thurgood Marshall, who hardly shared Davis's social and constitutional views, later described him as "a great advocate, the greatest." In a similar vein, and long after Davis had identified himself with persistent opposition to federal regulation and a tolerance for concentration of private wealth and power even beyond the consciences of some corporate clients, Felix Frankfurter wrote him that "as law teacher and judge I have often referred to you as one of the finest exemplars of . . . the public profession of law."

Professor Harbaugh first confronted this puzzle in 1958, when John Davis's daughter made her father's papers available to him and a grant from the Davis estate enabled him to organize them and conduct interviews. In spite of these initial connections with Davis heirs, this was never intended as an official biography. In the course of his research Harbaugh examined over thirty-five manuscripts and oral history collections and spent 1960-61 as a Senior Fellow at Yale Law School where he audited courses and read law. He concluded that Davis was the greatest solicitor general ever, but is generally critical of the extent of his subsequent commitment to conservative monied interests. As Davis insisted, however, even J. P. Morgan was entitled to counsel.

SAMUEL B. HAND  
University of Vermont

ABRAHAM HOFFMAN. *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 207. Cloth \$9.75, paper \$4.75.

This valuable monograph—developed from a 1970 dissertation—is not only an important contribution to Mexican-American history, but also illuminates the history of deportation and U.S.-Mexican relations. The subject is the more than 450,000 persons of Mexican ancestry who returned to Mexico from the United States between 1929 and 1937, some 13,000 of them in special trains chartered by Los Angeles County. These returning immigrants were "pulled" by their cultural ties to Mexico and by promises, unfortunately not adequately fulfilled, of land by a Mexican government that had an ideological commitment to repatriating all members of *la raza*, and "pushed" by eco-

nomic depression, discrimination, and the anti-Mexican activities of federal and local government. Paul S. Taylor and Carey McWilliams wrote about this decades ago, but Hoffman has revised and filled out the story admirably with research in both local and national archives. Although his emphasis is on what happened in southern California, he shows that repatriation was a national phenomenon.

The repatriation movement involved several processes: federal deportation, formal and voluntary, voluntary return, federal government repatriation of destitute aliens, organized repatriation promoted by American welfare agencies to pare welfare rolls, by Mexican consuls and the local ethnic community, and, finally, coercive, forced or involuntary repatriation by which Mexicans were hustled out of the country. Among the nearly half million people involved were thousands of children who were citizens of the United States by birth. Repatriation often deprived these young Americans of an opportunity to claim that birthright. Many of the adult repatriates imagined that a subsequent return to the United States would be simple, but immigration officials had begun, in 1928, a stricter enforcement of the statutes so that it became increasingly difficult for poor Mexicans to enter the United States despite the absence of any restrictive quota.

Hoffman is acutely aware of the human reality behind the statistics. If once or twice the reader becomes bogged down in detail, it is almost a relief from the breezy impressionism that has characterized too much recent ethnic history. The documentation is quite thorough so that the failure, at one point (pp. 156-57), to consult the papers of California Governor Culbert Olson stands out all the more. These minor flaws do not materially detract from a solid work of scholarship.

ROGER DANIELS  
State University of New York,  
College at Fredonia

MARTIN DUBERMAN. *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1972. Pp. 527. \$12.95.

Black Mountain College was founded in 1933 in the mountains of North Carolina by John Andrew Rice, and the school managed to survive in spite of innumerable problems until it closed its doors in 1956. Rice and the original Black Mountain group came from Rollins College where Rice had irritated the administration

with numerous acts of nonconformity until the president, Hamilton Holt, forced him to leave. Perhaps no one, except those who were actually involved with it, ever had a clear picture of the Black Mountain movement. According to the legend it was a noble experiment in democratic communal education, free of all administrative tyranny traditionally associated with many American colleges. Martin Duberman's detailed history of the movement destroys the myth of an idealistic campus and describes instead an unstable college community torn by personal vendettas and passionate debates over academic policies.

Since Rice had a deep-seated prejudice against "constitutions, bylaws and all other creative restrictions on the freedom of creative effort" (p. 34), it was to be expected that the administration of the college would be as unstructured and as democratic as possible. However, the organization of the college was so loose that it became impossible to make decisions with the result that the institution seemed doomed to failure. At this point Rice, as rector, became a traitor to his own philosophy by seizing administrative power and in turn he was denounced by the other members of the community as an arbitrary leader. His questionable leadership and his affair with a student named Alice (whom he later described as a slut) were major factors in creating the chaos that developed at Black Mountain in 1938. Rice was relieved of his post but even under new leadership the college continued on a precarious course toward ultimate disenchantment.

It should be pointed out that inadequate leadership was only one weakness in the Black Mountain organization. A list of factors that contributed to the closing of the school would include the inability of the faculty to assimilate their pedagogical differences, the unbalanced curriculum, faculty purges, financial problems, student revolt, failure to gain accreditation, and the lack of real scholarship and intellectual stimulation that was supposed to come from the close association of teacher and student.

In spite of its short and insecure existence Black Mountain made some interesting contributions. If it did not invent the idea of independent study, it certainly gave a boost to this academic technique. The same is true with respect to the interdisciplinary seminar. The best teachers were concerned with art or music and all forms of art were taught as an approach to learning, not as a technique. In other words all students were encouraged to be imaginative and productive and to learn through ex-

perience. The college gave several artists and musicians an opportunity to develop their careers further. Among these were Josef Albers, the abstract painter who had escaped from Nazi Germany, the composer John Cage, and Buckminster Fuller, who perfected his now-famous geodesic dome while on the staff at Black Mountain. One of the most successful students who studied art at Black Mountain was Ruth Asawa, now a well-known sculptor and conductor of art workshops in some of the California public schools.

Unlike some of Duberman's earlier prize-winning publications this book exhibits an uneven quality. The first chapters are well written and approach the high standards one expects from this author. But this excellence is not maintained and the latter part of the book, while showing cleverness and imagination, cannot be considered good history if the traditional criteria are to be employed. Throwing the cardinal principles of historical writing to the winds, he lets himself become personally involved with his subject in an attempt to write a new kind of history. He might have brought it off had he shown more wisdom in the selection and organization of his material. However, the book will probably remain the standard history of the Black Mountain movement for many years.

F. GARVIN DAVENPORT, SR.  
Monmouth College,  
Monmouth, Illinois

RICHARD DYER MACCANN. *The People's Films: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures*. (Studies in Public Communication. Communications Arts Books.) New York: Hastings House, 1973. Pp. xviii, 238. Cloth \$11.50, paper \$6.75.

The motion picture has been well established as an integral part of the fabric of American life for over fifty years. Not until recently, however, has the motion picture become a respectable and legitimate object of study for historians. Richard Dyer MacCann became a pioneer of sorts in this field with his 1950 dissertation on government films, which in subsequent years slowly gained the status of an "underground classic" among those interested in the scholarly, historical study of film. *The People's Films* is a revised and updated version of this dissertation brought out in response to the increased interest in all things cinematic.

Despite the subtitle, Professor MacCann has

not attempted to write a full political history of U.S. government motion pictures. The book touches lightly on the bulk of government film production in favor of three dramatic and important documentary film ventures by the U.S. government: the productions of Pare Lorentz and the U.S. Film Service during the New Deal years, the World War II Armed Forces and Office of War Information films, and the U.S. Information Agency (U.S.I.A.) productions of 1962-67. These are presented in their political and governmental context and form the core of the book, allowing MacCann to focus upon the questions of how and why the films were made, upon the difficulties of creating cinematic statements within a bureaucratic and political framework, upon reconciling the public's need to know and the government's impulse toward propaganda, and upon the necessity of a free flow of information for a healthy democratic society.

MacCann's study is based upon published sources, personal interviews, and the films themselves, but not upon archival materials, although some of these have become available since the original research was done in the late 1940s. His commentary on the films is perceptive and informative, and he has not allowed the fact that he obtained a great deal of information from those associated with the production of the films to cloud his judgment.

In several ways, however, this is an uneven work. The second chapter is an essay on documentary films in England and Canada that stands relatively isolated from the rest of the book. Since the problem of "influence" receives minimal attention, and rightly so, it might have been better had this chapter been reduced to a few pages of background material in the introduction, rather than to divert the reader's attention for an extended period from the matter at hand. Likewise, the two short, final chapters, "Television for President and Congress" and "The Documentary Dialogue," seem tacked on to the end of the book, are speculative as much as scholarly, and detract from the impact of the book as a whole. Nevertheless, MacCann's treatments of Lorentz, the World War II films, and the U.S.I.A. productions are a real contribution to the growing body of historical film scholarship in print and will continue to be required reading for those interested in documentary films and in governmental attempts at communications and public relations.

FREDERICK D. JACKES  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

FRANK FREIDEL. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: Launching the New Deal*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1973. Pp. x, 574. \$15.00.

The fourth volume of Frank Freidel's ambitious biography of Franklin Delano Roosevelt differs from the previous three installments in several respects. It is the first to convey his protagonist beyond the threshold of the White House, for though it begins with a lengthy discussion of the interregnum between Roosevelt's election in November 1932 and his inauguration on March 4, 1933, the greater part of the book is devoted to the opening months of FDR's first term. It is even more densely researched than his earlier works, because Freidel has ranged from the Public Record Office in London to the Bancroft Library in California. The book is infinitely more detailed; whereas Freidel's third volume covered nearly four years in 414 pages, his new study requires 551 oversized pages for a mere eight months. It gives an unusual amount of attention to foreign affairs, from the labyrinthine, and not always enthralling, war debts controversy of the interregnum to the abortive, and more engrossing, London Economic Conference of July 1933, with which his account closes. And last, volume four is considerably more judgmental, though Freidel is better disposed toward Roosevelt than are many historians today.

Since Freidel has not written a chronicle of the birth of the New Deal but a component of a multivolume biography, he has inevitably concentrated his attention less on what now seems historically significant than on what preoccupied Roosevelt at the time. Hence, he gives an unusual amount of attention to topics like railroad legislation, which historians have traditionally neglected but that concerned the new president, while matters like the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration get short shrift. His conscientious exposition of the genesis of legislation robs the swiftly moving Hundred Days of an element of dynamism, and some readers may wish that he had addressed himself more directly to historiographical controversies like the watershed debate. Yet Freidel's meticulous reconstruction of FDR's world in these months gives us the most trustworthy account we have yet had of this subject, and, implicitly when not explicitly, he addresses, too, the weightier questions of interpretation of the New Deal.

New Left critics will find ample evidence in support of their conviction that the New



Deal had decidedly conservative characteristics. Freidel underlines the continuities (as well as the discontinuities) between Roosevelt's policies and those of Herbert Hoover; he explores, in particular, the manner in which the emergency banking legislation of March 1933 derived from the labors of Hoover's financial advisers. He recounts, too, Roosevelt's hostility toward massive public works expenditures and his inclination toward regressive taxation. If these points are largely familiar, Freidel often places them in an instructive frame, especially when he observes how conservative decisions resulted from the persistence of the progressive mode. Thus he emphasizes that Roosevelt's conservatism on banking originated in part from a desire to punish Wall Street and to curb the recklessness of financiers, that his fiscal stance owed much to repugnance toward the profligacy of Republican administrations in the 1920s in aiding business, and that his resistance to public works spending may be traced in part to solicitude for the national patrimony.

Although Freidel takes pains to delineate the conservative aspects of the Hundred Days, he leaves no doubt that he regards FDR as a changemaker. Indeed, he portrays Roosevelt as "a believer in large-scale, long-range planning, both in foreign policy and domestic affairs." By April, Freidel notes, a British critic was complaining that Roosevelt "has driven a coach and four through the sanctity of contract, and appears to be anxious to destroy the vital spring of the capitalist system—the free market." That summer Roosevelt commented, "Orthodoxy may not be the only method for nations any more than individuals, to get to Heaven."

Freidel concludes that Roosevelt and the Congress of the Hundred Days "permanently and significantly modified" the economic system, "introducing the element of government intervention in the economy on behalf of the general welfare to a degree never before known in peacetime." He adds: "The great debate which was to wrack America through Roosevelt's remaining years in the White House and for almost a decade thereafter would not focus upon whether he had gone far enough but upon whether he had gone too far. What pained businessmen was what *Fortune* pointed out to them before the end of 1933, that Roosevelt 'does not propose to restore the world of 1929 and would not restore it if he could.'" In these carefully articulated summations as much as in the richly detailed ex-

position of events, Freidel has contributed to the literature of twentieth-century American history.

WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG  
Columbia University

RICHARD D. MCKINZIE, *The New Deal for Artists*. [Princeton:] Princeton University Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 203. \$17.50.

FRANCIS V. O'CONNOR, edited and with an introduction by. *Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by Artists and Administrators of the WPA Federal Art Project*. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1973. Pp. 317. \$22.50.

These two books complement each other well. One, a published dissertation, is a history of the still-controversial government-sponsored art programs that ran from 1933 to 1943. It follows Jane Mathews's book on the Theatre Project and Jerre Mangione's book on the Writers Project. The other work, an anthology, was written in the late 1930s by participants in another Works Projects Administration (WPA) agency, the Federal Art Project.

Richard McKinzie's book is a useful work whose flaws obscure its virtues. The writing is careless: "Prominently displayed in Rose's Club, The Diamond Horseshoe, 43,000 people saw it in three weeks." It also shows the influence of a prolonged reading of *Time* magazine. A museum director "withered in Benton's retaliatory blast" that was uttered as a "growl." And "one nationwide project, The Index of American Design, busied some 300 individuals for six years." There are breezy misleading oversimplifications: "Artists, flushed from elitist bastions by the depression and caught up in the debate by its dynamism, treated aesthetically what Americans everywhere seemed to be reassembling—the nature of American society." Whatever elitist bastions are, most artists, and especially artists concerned with the nature of society, did not live there. More annoying is the patronizing tone of amused condescension that permeates the descriptions of the anguished struggles of federal art administrators to keep their programs going in the face of insuperable difficulties. Finally, there are few factual errors. George Biddle was neither a Groton classmate of Roosevelt's nor were they at Harvard together. John Sloan certainly never sold a painting for \$50,000 before the depression.

McKinzie states at the outset that his focus "is much more upon social and political forces than upon the creative urge and its results."

This is a legitimate, if limiting, approach. Still, the chief point of the projects was to keep artists at work by paying them to produce painting, sculpture, and graphics on a large scale, and some analysis of the art produced would be helpful. In his discussions of the programs, McKinzie touches on subject matter and stylistic variations, but his account is too superficial and too dependent on received opinion to be of value. Indeed, the book as a whole is far too brief for this significant and innovative episode in American culture.

Although some of McKinzie's conclusions on such matters as the role of the Artists Union and his assessment of the ultimate effect of the New Deal's involvement in the arts are open to question, he performs a real service by distinguishing among and clearly describing the various and sometimes confusing Treasury and WPA programs. The WPA's Federal Art Project, the largest and best known of the art agencies, receives the most extended treatment, and while some of its major achievements—the Index of American Design, the Community Art Centers, the educational programs, and the development of the silk screen process—are given less credit than they deserve, as a summary history the book is useful. It is well illustrated and has a good rundown on the published and unpublished literature on the subject. McKinzie's grasp of the voluminous primary sources as reflected in the footnotes is impressive.

*Art for the Millions* is another kind of work altogether. It consists of sixty-seven short essays written by artists and administrators connected with the WPA's Federal Art Project. The original intention was to publish the anthology as a report on the work of the project, but owing to a series of delays followed by the collapse of the WPA, the manuscript disappeared into the personal files of the project's chief, Holger Cahill. Resurrected thirty years later and beautifully edited by Francis V. O'Connor, it now appears with helpful additions in the form of biographical notes on the writers, a descriptive inventory of the manuscripts, including a number not published in the text, some statistics on Federal Art Project accomplishments, and a list of Project Community Art Centers. In general, the volume follows the sequence and illustrations originally planned for it. The result is an authentic, refreshing, and occasionally eloquent expression of dedication to the work in which these men and women were engaged. Mr. O'Connor's in-

troduction manages to combine sympathy, detachment, and insight.

GARNETT MCCOY

*Archives of American Art*

WILLIAM STOTT. *Documentary Expression and Thirties America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 361. \$12.50.

In recent years historians have been alerted to the neglected possibilities contained in studies of popular culture as a means of achieving a greater understanding of important themes in social and cultural history. Among the most important of these statements is one found in the erratic work of Marshall McLuhan—the noted Canadian English professor turned communications scholar. In his *Understanding Media* (1963), McLuhan has thrown out the provocative concept that the introduction of a new communications medium into a society drastically alters the way in which that society perceives itself. Unfortunately, few historians have really attempted to test McLuhan's probes, although there is quite a large body of indigested evidence to suggest that in this particular case he may well be pointing historians in the right direction.

William Stott, in this brilliant and seminal work, has given dramatic credence to McLuhan's hypothesis by demonstrating that the "documentary expression" that emerged in the United States during the depression years of the 1930s did in fact allow the country to see itself in a totally new way. (In McLuhan's terms the "sense ratio" of American society was altered.) Stott has carefully researched and analyzed the manner in which the "documentary expression" emerged as a separate genre of artistic expression in answer to a specific need evident in American society during the thirties. Defining documentary as "the presentation of representation of actual fact in a way that makes it credible and vivid to people at the time," he has demonstrated that disillusion required a reaffirmation. Thus the "document," whether it be created by camera or pen (or even voice in the case of radio), allowed American society to re-examine itself to discover both the good and bad, but always with the view that exposition and truth were preferable to neglect or delusion.

Stott has delved deep into the works of the Works Projects Administration (WPA) writers and theater projects; the dance theater of Martha Graham; the emergence of radio and *Life* magazine; the "documentary tradition" in

social science in order to give more vivid reality to quantitative findings; radical reportage; and of greatest importance, the documentary book, which relied so heavily on new photographic sensitivities. Of course the classic example of documentary expression is *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1972) by James Agee and Walker Evans, and Stott has rightly singled this book out for an extended analysis. Stott's choice of photographs go beyond their usual decorative function and form an integral part of the author's central thesis.

The one minor weakness, which in fairness to Stott has been treated quite extensively elsewhere, is the absence of analysis of the documentary cinema of the period. The author notes that he has deliberately chosen to ignore this genre in order to concentrate on those that required wider recognition. In all, this is a brilliant, original work and deserves to be widely read and understood.

GARTH S. JOWETT  
Carleton University

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR. *The Imperial Presidency*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1973. Pp. x, 505. \$10.00.

This is a large, bold, and quite persuasive effort to use history for political purposes. The book is concerned with one of the pressing problems of our day: the great power of the American presidency. The author ranges widely over the course of American history in order to throw light on the problem, and he appraises proposed solutions to it, including the impeachment of President Nixon, which he suggests may be necessary "to contain the Presidency and preserve the Constitution" (p. 417).

This is an informative book, but it is much more than that. While emphasizing the war-making power, the last thirty-three years, and Richard Nixon, the book supplies a rich body of information on the entire history of the presidency. More important, it helps us think about that history and that institution. Schlesinger presents three concepts for this purpose. One is in the title; the others are the constitutional presidency and the revolutionary presidency. The constitutional presidency can be very strong, but it shares the making of major decisions, such as the decision for war, with other institutions, above all Congress. The imperial presidency, which is largely a product of recent international crises and the reigning interpretations of them, monopolizes rather than shares the power to carry the country into war. The

revolutionary presidency attempts to duplicate in domestic affairs the centralization of power established in foreign policy. Nixon became both imperial and revolutionary, but his revolutionary tendencies have been checked. Schlesinger writes that "Watergate was the by-product of a larger revolutionary purpose." "At the same time it was the fatal mistake that provoked and legitimized resistance to the revolutionary presidency" (p. 377).

The author admits that he contributed, at least in a small way, to the rise of the imperial presidency. He cites episodes in his career as scholar and publicist in which he championed claims of presidential power that now seem wrong to him. While one can admire his willingness to admit mistakes, one finds the episodes troubling, especially for the professional historian. They suggest that the author's study of history did not always serve him well. Why did a distinguished historian make such mistakes? Why did he draw conclusions from a narrow range of historical experience? Why was he forced to learn from the history he experienced firsthand?

Schlesinger has changed some of his ideas in response to historical experiences, yet he remains basically the vital-center liberal he has been for years. He has maintained his enthusiasm for Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy. Truman, Johnson, and Nixon, above all Nixon, not Roosevelt and Kennedy, are held chiefly responsible for the developments that horrify the author. He rejects proposals, such as Senator Ervin's, that would exalt Congress and subordinate the presidency. Believing that they would go too far and deprive us of needed presidential leadership, he advocates the middle ground or middle way he labels the constitutional presidency. And he refuses to endorse proposals to discard basic American institutions. He calls for more democracy, but what he means is a sharing of decision-making power by and a partnership between two established institutions, Congress and the presidency. His proposals reflect confidence in their ability to function successfully within the limits established by the Constitution. What is required, he suggests at one point, is "a chastened Presidency and a responsible Congress" (p. 376).

It seems to me that Schlesinger draws valid and valuable conclusions from two sets of historical experiences: those of the 1930s and early 1940s and those of the 1960s and early 1970s. The experiences he taps seem to offer the guidance we need, and both sets, not just one, must be taken into account in making decisions

about our institutions. Yet, after reading the book, I am troubled by the possibility that the future course of history will reveal that the two served us no better than the one served the 1940s and 1950s. Perhaps a representative of a specialty other than recent American history would be better qualified to appraise this book.

RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

IRWIN F. GELLMAN. *Roosevelt and Batista: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Cuba, 1933-1945*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1973. Pp. 303. \$12.00.

United States interest in Cuba is long standing. Although the 1898 Teller Amendment disclaimed annexation of the island, the Platt Amendment and American investment confirmed close political and economic ties. Since events in Cuba after 1959 broke these traditional ties historians have sought explanations. Professor Gellman in his study of the New Deal era shies away from general interpretations for the recent period but notes anti-American feeling in Cuba to which the Good Neighbor policy contributed and that Castro later used. Gellman's story is not entirely new but he tells it in greater detail and from a wider range of primary sources than previous authors.

Good Neighbor diplomacy in Cuba did not change radically the diplomacy of preceding administrations. Gellman suggests that "Roosevelt and his advisers were not trying to implement a new program, but to discard outmoded elements of the traditional one." The Roosevelt administration wanted peace, law, and order in Cuba, goals which TR or Taft would not have faulted. Military intervention was outmoded. Hoover and Stimson would accept that from their experience in Nicaragua. Abrogation of the Platt Amendment did not give up the Guantánamo naval base nor were the Jones-Costigan Act and the reciprocal trade agreement (Hull's first) unmixed blessings for Cuba. Cuba, as Gellman makes clear, was still tied politically and economically to its big northern neighbor, and United States ambassadors in Havana remained as influential as in pre-1933 days. This situation, combined with the use of diplomatic nonrecognition as a political weapon against Grau and support of Batista because the embassy saw him as the only block to anarchy, helped make the United States, in the eyes of many Cubans, responsible and thus the scapegoat for much that was wrong on the island.

The author agrees that the United States may be blamed for supporting inequities in Cuba, but he places greater blame on Cuban politicians who when out of office were too negative and when in office failed to advance positive programs of reform. What could the United States have done to avoid hostility that came its way? Here Gellman is not explicit, but he implies that a reduced United States presence would have helped.

Two minor points in this book may be misleading. The title *Roosevelt and Batista* is not accurate: President Roosevelt had final responsibility for decisions, but indications are that he thought little about Cuba and his role was relatively minor. The chief characters of the book are the ambassadors—particularly Welles, and Caffery—and Secretary Hull. One may also question the author's implication that the middle 1940s form a natural break in United States-Cuban relations. There may be an end of an era within each country, but how far this carries over to their foreign relations is doubtful.

WILLIAM KAMMAN  
North Texas State University

VLADIMIR PETROV. *A Study in Diplomacy: The Story of Arthur Bliss Lane*. (Foundation for Foreign Affairs Series, number 14.) Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1971. Pp. 302. \$12.00.

RUSSELL H. FIFIELD. *Americans in Southeast Asia: The Roots of Commitment*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1973. Pp. xi, 417. \$10.00.

Each of the two books under review is a story of a failure—one personal, the other national. Arthur Bliss Lane succeeded in not one of his major diplomatic assignments. In Nicaragua, where he went as minister at age thirty-nine (the youngest career minister in the history of the foreign service), he was caught in a web of intrigue and rivalry among contending aspirants for the presidency, and he fared badly. He was accused of meddling in the country's affairs and even of complicity in the murder of one leader. Lane was unsuccessful in convincing the State Department to accept his recommendations (one of which was quite bad) and eventually became a diplomatic liability. He found Yugoslavia, where he was posted in 1937, of no interest to Washington, and he became irritable and dissatisfied because the post was unimportant. When the war began he tragically misread the ability of the Yugoslavs to resist the blandishments of the Nazis, and his efforts to arrest



the drift of the leaders into Germany's arms proved fruitless. After the coup that ousted the prince regent, Lane had no contact with the new government and did not keep the department advised on developments. His experiences in Poland, where he was accredited ambassador in 1944, were no happier. He was always at odds with Washington, which he accused of sacrificing Poland's independence and freedom for Russia's friendship. His insistence that Stalin be made to hold free elections as pledged at Yalta earned Lane the label "troublemaker and warmonger." His bombardment of the department with advice to get tough with the Soviets was viewed by his superiors as evidence of inflexibility. When it became clear to him that Poland was to be permitted to slip into the Soviet orbit, he left Warsaw and, failing to get another post to his liking, resigned from the service in bitterness, "having lost trust in the wisdom of the men who directed the policies of the United States."

No less a failure was the American experience in Southeast Asia. It is a sad record of missed opportunities and of drift into the morass of deep involvement. After the war the Philippines presented no problem to American diplomacy; the islands were turned loose. The Dutch similarly gave Indonesia independence as did the British to the Malay States. But the French clung tenaciously to their Asian holdings. President Roosevelt opposed the continuation of French rule in Indochina after the war and expected independence for the colony to follow a period of trusteeship. But the plan died with him. No one seems to know why it was abandoned. That was one opportunity missed. Another was the failure to convert Ho Chi Minh into an "Asian Tito." In 1945 and 1946 there was a considerable reservoir of good will on Ho's part for the United States. America stood for freedom and independence for dependent peoples, and Ho expected Washington to aid him in his aspirations. But Washington did not capitalize on the situation. Then there was the chance to pressure France into granting complete independence to her colonies when, in 1949, they were organized as autonomous and associated states in the French Union. It, too, was lost.

Those lost opportunities led logically and inexorably to supporting the French with money and equipment in their fight against Ho's communist forces and, eventually, to replacing them when they withdrew from the fight after Dienbienphu. The ultimate failure was that after eight years of cruel warfare and after the

expenditure of billions of dollars and the staggering loss of lives, the American effort may, after all, have been in vain. Bereft of American military support, South Vietnam may yet succumb to communist conquest or subversion. At best, our intervention bought time.

Fifield's book may not be the "landmark study" the dust jacket claims it to be, but it is a lucid, thoughtful, and extremely useful account of how and why the Indochinese debacle came about. There are no surprises; the story is well known but it is enriched by great detail drawn from a wide variety of sources and told with the sure touch of the professional. It is told, too, against a broad backdrop of events elsewhere—chiefly the rest of Southeast Asia—and in the context of the historical setting of the cold war. Fifield's explanations and conclusions are reasonable and intelligent. The assumption of American policy, he says, was that Indochina had to be saved as Korea was saved. The people and the land could not be permitted to fall to communism. We did not stumble into the war. Each successive president did what he thought essential at each stage to keep Indochina free. Truman and Eisenhower provided aid to the French to fight the fight and when they quit Kennedy and Johnson took over—the former moderately and clandestinely, the latter openly and massively. Fifield is particularly good on the struggle within the corps of American policy makers between those who wished to push the French to free their colonies and those who feared that such a move would alienate the French and endanger the solid front against the Soviets in Europe. If his account has any weakness, it is his failure to consider the public attitudes. He deals with congressional reactions and participation in decision making adequately but leaves unexplored public opinion, which counted for so much in the end.

Petrov's account is not nearly as sophisticated as Fifield's nor as analytical or convincing. He does not prove his major contentions—that Lane's record was outstanding, that he was successful in sizing up the frame of mind of the White House and of the people in the department, and that he had an uncanny knowledge of human nature and the ability to exploit the weaknesses of individuals. Petrov's narrative is marred by an unexplained failure to cite specifically the manuscript material he used in the Lane Papers and in the Department of State archives. His credibility is thereby impaired. It is strange that he cites specifically from printed sources. To his credit is his critical approach to



his subject. There is no hero worship in the book, and Petrov recognizes Lane's limitations. He characterizes Lane's reports as "rarely profound," and finds him on occasion to be less than candid. To Petrov's credit, too, is his analysis of the historical circumstances in which Lane operated, particularly in Poland. As a Russian emigré, Petrov knows that part of the world well.

ARMIN RAPPAPORT  
University of California,  
San Diego

PAUL A. VARG. *The Closing of the Door: Sino-American Relations, 1936-1946*. [East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1973. Pp. x. 300. \$10.00.

JOHN M. ALLISON. *Ambassador from the Prairie: Or Allison Wonderland*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1973. Pp. xiv. 400. \$7.95.

In an editorial for February 19, 1943, the *New York Times* observed "how much the thought and aspiration of China are like our own . . . we are both fighting for the same purpose." The occasion was the triumphal appearance of Madame Chiang Kai-shek before the United States Congress. Professor Varg barely mentions the visit, for he is intent on showing that American and Chinese purposes were not and had never been the same. The popular image of the United States as a defender of China was a myth. Prior to World War II, American policy was that of an imperial power; during the first three years of the war, policy centered on the defeat of Japan. Chinese concerns, on the other hand, were internal; the contest for power between the Nationalists and the Communists. Differing purposes created tension, but America's major blunder, in Varg's thesis, came when the United States intervened in the domestic crisis.

For Varg the turning point came in 1944. Increasingly disillusioned with Kuomintang conduct of the war, Roosevelt first tried to force Stilwell on China and then sent an observer mission to the Communists in Yen-an. The warm welcome given the mission encouraged the United States to think that coalition government was possible in China. Chiang, apparently to avoid giving Stilwell command of the Chinese army, requested a special envoy. Patrick Hurley arrived and, after some vacillation, strongly supported the Nationalists. He did so despite the warnings of experts like former Ambassador Gauss, Service, Vincent, and Davies. Thus, Varg concludes, Hurley helped "lead his

country down the tortuous path that led to twenty-five years of support of a regime long after it had lost all credibility in its own territory" (pp. 165-66). The Marshall mission, despite an auspicious beginning, never had a chance, for Hurley had destroyed whatever credibility the United States had with the Communists.

Drawing upon recently available American archives, Varg has written a balanced, scholarly narrative. A number of questions, however, remain unanswered: was there any real possibility before Hurley for a political coalition; what was the basis for Washington's belief that Chiang could unify China; what effect did growing American suspicion of Russia have on China policy; how influential were pro-Chiang public-opinion leaders like Congressman Walter Judd and Henry Luce of *Time-Life*? It is clear, as Varg shows, that the United States did not "lose" China. Americans, including her policy makers, have long preferred myths about China to looking beneath the surface at the realities.

Ambassador Allison is a kindly man; there are no evil governments or individuals in his book. During a thirty-year Foreign Service career, Allison served in Japan and China in the 1930s, was interned in Japan for a few months, spent the war in London, served with the American delegation to the United Nations, helped John Foster Dulles negotiate the Japanese peace treaty, was assistant secretary for the Far East in the early 1950s, ambassador to Japan from 1953 to 1957, then minister to Indonesia for eleven months, rounding out his career as ambassador to Czechoslovakia. His spritely reminiscences abound with anecdotes about major figures, MacArthur, Dulles, Nixon, Edgar Snow, Christopher Morley, and fond memories of duck-netting parties and cormorant fishing.

The most valuable portions historically are Allison's experiences in Japanese-occupied Nanking in 1938, negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty, and the frustrations of Sukarno's Indonesia. Allison was one of the first officials to land in Nanking after the Panay incident. The peace negotiations of 1950-51 were his most interesting and satisfying period, for he was closely involved in the making and implementing of policy. Indonesia was "fascinating" despite the fact that internally "nothing seemed to work, and no one really seemed to care . . ." (p. 294), and Washington consistently ignored his cables.

Allison obviously enjoyed his Foreign Service work, especially the times in Japan. His internment was even almost pleasant. There is no

bitterness toward American policy makers who too often ignored their career officers; he even has a few kindly words for Patrick Hurley. Allison ends optimistically, believing there is a role for the Foreign Service in bringing nations together. For the ambassador from Nebraska, his career was a "wonder"-land.

JAMES M. MCCUTCHEON  
*University of Hawaii*

GEORGE C. HERRING, JR. *Aid to Russia, 1941-1946: Strategy, Diplomacy, the Origins of the Cold War.* (Contemporary American History Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1973. Pp. xxi, 365. \$15.00.

In this well-researched, judicious, and cohesive study Professor Herring discusses lend-lease and postwar aid to Russia within the larger context of Soviet-American relations during the developing cold war. He defends the "unconditional aid" policy for lend-lease, arguing that it was necessary because of Russian needs and sacrifices and the importance of keeping the alliance together by minimizing tension. He grants that Americans suffered indignities at the hands of Stalin and crude Russian bureaucrats, that wastage occurred, that Russia enjoyed favors, and that FDR did not demand political concessions in return for the ten billion dollars. Lend-lease was a test of good faith at a time when the second front was being delayed and when FDR refused to meet any of the Soviet requests for territorial concessions. Above all else, concludes Herring, American generosity served the calculated national interest: the defeat of Germany and the preservation of American security. FDR is pictured as a realist quite conscious of his goals, constantly stymied by a resistant bureaucracy. One of the more interesting stories in this book is that of the debate within the administration over the generosity of lend-lease policy. FDR, Hopkins, and Stettinius outdueled admirals, generals, and Ambassador William Standley. FDR realized that his "commitments" on aid to Russia were infrequently fulfilled because of bureaucratic footdragging, domestic shortages, and immense shipping problems.

Ambassador W. Averell Harriman is the link between lend-lease and postwar aid, for he began in 1944 to gain support in the administration (and later with Truman) for his position that all aid should be used as a diplomatic weapon to force Soviet agreement on international issues. Herring is certain that postwar aid (via a large loan) would not have made

much difference in the cold war. His conclusion is curious given his other statement that Russia was antagonized by the abrupt cutback in lend-lease and the American handling of the loan question. He gives little attention to the possibility that aid might have helped smooth relations to permit the solution of other issues in a less tense atmosphere. And, importantly, he ignores the connection between Soviet intransigence on German reparations and the lack of American postwar aid. He is persuasive in pointing out the shift to a tougher aid policy in early 1945, wherein American statesmen spoke of the possible diplomatic benefits derived from economic pressure, and in explaining the delay and public silence in handling the Russian loan request from August 1945 to February 1946. In the latter case, however, he fails to note that Washington activated it in early 1946 in part to gain Soviet concessions over the World Bank and the Iranian crisis.

One consistent theme is that "domestic politics" placed "sharp limitations" on the presidents' freedom. Herring cites polls and quotes disparate congressional voices that questioned a generous policy or any aid to Russia. But he never demonstrates concretely that such questioning was decisively influential. To cite the National Grange as evidence that farmers opposed aid to Russia is inadequate. Then, too, when Congress was moving to a more critical position on lend-lease, FDR was moving along his own parallel path (as did Truman later). Who led whom? Indeed, the book is confusing on this fundamental point because at times it asserts the primacy of public pressure and at other times it presents evidence to illustrate that "considerations of diplomacy" were uppermost in aid decisions.

Herring's treatment of the cutback in lend-lease illustrates the problem. First, it should be noted that the Foreign Economic Administration chief Leo Crowley was not simply acting as a legalist following the legislative act to the letter. Crowley related aid to other issues in Soviet-American relations, as did most American leaders. Second, the Lend-Lease Act was explicit about ending it at the termination of the war, but a different interpretation of the act was possible from May to August 1945, as Acheson pointed out in his memoirs. The Truman administration was justified by law in curtailing lend-lease so abruptly in May, but its interpretation of the law derived from the assumption that economic power as a diplomatic weapon would make the Russians more pliable; a different assumption might

have produced a different interpretation of the law.

These questions do not diminish Herring's contribution to cold-war history. Its research, synthetic accomplishment, and fair-mindedness are welcome in a field too often marked by shrill, intemperate shouting. His portrayal of FDR as a diplomat and manager of the foreign affairs bureaucracy and his careful interweaving of political, military, and diplomatic history are noteworthy.

THOMAS G. PATERSON  
University of Connecticut

RICHARD W. STEELE. *The First Offensive, 1942: Roosevelt, Marshall and the Making of American Strategy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 239. \$8.50.

Steele lucidly traces the tangled threads of decision making that led to Torch, the Allied invasion of Northwest Africa in November 1942. On no other strategic decision did General Marshall disagree so strongly with President Roosevelt. It has been said that the Torch controversy divided the Combined Chiefs of Staff and sorely tested the Anglo-American military coalition. Critics of Torch have frequently pointed out its effect upon the duration of the European war in causing the postponement of the "Second Front."

Most previous writers have stressed the difference in strategic outlook between the Allied positions, with the British strategy of attrition emerging temporarily triumphant over the American strategy of annihilation. Steele, however, maintains that the Torch decision "involved little conflict between American and British military strategists," but resulted from Marshall's efforts "to accommodate his own military judgments to the politico-military demands of President Franklin D. Roosevelt" (p. vii). After the Arcadia conference in the winter of 1941-42, Marshall was increasingly concerned that British persuasiveness and American political pressures would influence Roosevelt to favor a Northwest-African venture, which the War Department considered unwise. Marshall subsequently became dedicated to Sledgehammer, a plan for a limited cross-Channel invasion in late 1942 to draw German pressure from the Soviet front. Not until Roosevelt, facing vociferous British objections to a premature attack on France, committed the United States to Torch in July 1942 did Marshall drop the Sledgehammer scheme.

Steele emphasizes that the Sledgehammer

attack would have ended in certain disaster, and he is severe in criticizing Marshall: "He was in a position to know the facts that made SLEDGEHAMMER a false vision, yet continued to press for the operation long after the high costs and probable negative results were apparent. To the extent the President depended on Marshall for military advice on the first offensive, he was ill-served" (p. 181). Steele believes that Marshall was serious about Sledgehammer, but motivation in this type of case is difficult to delineate conclusively. The Marshall disciple could respond that the Chief of Staff took such an extreme stance not because of dedication to Sledgehammer but in order to avert Torch and thereby save Roundup, his cherished plan for a cross-Channel attack in 1943.

With thorough research, a vigorous style, and a thought-provoking thesis, Steele, who is a historian at California State University, San Diego, has done an excellent job of presenting the military, political, and personal factors underlying the decision to launch the first Anglo-American offensive against the European Axis.

D. CLAYTON JAMES  
Mississippi State University

PETER CLECAK. *Radical Paradoxes: Dilemmas of the American Left: 1945-1970*. New York: Harper and Row. 1973. Pp. x, 358. \$11.95.

Peter Clecak has written a provocative book, not about the dilemmas of the American Left from 1945 to 1970, as the title asserts, but of the responses to those dilemmas in the work of four leading Marxist theorists. He wisely selects C. Wright Mills, Paul Baran, Paul Sweezy, and Herbert Marcuse, described as "plain Marxists," that is, independent and undogmatic critics who use Marxism as a method, not as a "body of sacred texts." All are men of reason; all are committed to a democratic socialism; all led lives of anguish trying to reconcile those commitments to the realities of world power.

They examined the overriding questions radical critics have yet to answer: in the face of massive state power and stability, what kind of socialist movement can be created in the United States; how is a socialist society to be created and sustained so that humane and democratic commitments are honored; what socialist visions permeate the ideological Left? Clecak traces in their work the evolution from optimism to gloom, from what he describes as

a realistic socialist model to an apocalyptic communist future that presupposes a new socialist person and a society free of alienation. All of them failed, says Clecak, all of them end as prophets of doom, living on the periphery of society, clinging desperately to an unrealizable and dangerous vision of a utopian mirage that will inevitably prove to be a "cruel political illusion."

In the last section, Clecak offers his own vision, a concrete model, a socialist society incorporating the work ethic, limited competition for material incentives, genuine social mobility, and greatly extended democracy. If critics are "freed from the illusions of a perfect society and an infinitely perfectible man," then a democratic socialism, consistent with the cultural life of America, is feasible.

This is a serious and thoughtful book, but it is not without flaws. The intimate and organic connection between the work of these men and the world in which they are actively engaged is missing, so that their failure, as defined by Clecak, appears as a personal and intellectual one. Clecak's realistic alternative carries with it two unexamined assumptions: first, that the two visions, utopian and realistic, are necessarily incompatible; and second, that a feasible solution is possible now. In fact, all four of his critics started out where Clecak is now. By focusing, somewhat unfairly, on their ultimate visions, he often fails to demonstrate the inadequacy of their specific analyses. Sweezy and Baran, for example, are economists, and yet Clecak does not challenge their economic critique, which forms the basis of their gloomy conclusions. Clecak's strategy, coming after trenchant criticism of others, is tepid and disappointing. His four critics would undoubtedly answer Clecak by saying that they have seen his future and it does not work.

ANN J. LANE

*John Jay College,*

*City University of New York*

ROBERT A. PACKENHAM. *Liberal America and the Third World: Political Development Ideas in Foreign Aid and Social Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973. Pp. xxii, 395. \$15.00.

In his estimate of the political situation in the Dominican Republic after the assassination of Trujillo in 1961, President Kennedy could perceive only three possibilities for the Dominican people: a decent democratic regime, a continuation of the Trujillo regime, or a Castro regime.

"We ought to aim at the first," he observed, "but we really can't renounce the second until we are sure that we can avoid the third." Puerile thinking of this sort—and the consequences it produced—provide the frame of reference in which Robert A. Packenham historically and analytically examines foreign aid as an aspect of American policy toward the third world. Designed to promote constructive political development in the third-world countries (economic growth, political and social stability, democracy), the aid program instead contributed to uneven economic development, political instability and violence, and authoritarian rule. In the face of the obvious failure of their approach, aid officials and the social scientists whose theories underpinned the program clung stubbornly to a conviction that what worked in Europe after World War II would surely work elsewhere in the world. Why?

Packenham finds the answer in the predominance of the liberal tradition among the theorists and practitioners of foreign aid. Acknowledging his intellectual debt to Louis Hartz, he argues that the "American exceptionalist" frame of mind provides perhaps "the single most important ideological and perceptual lens through which Americans perceive, evaluate, and understand political development in poor countries." Packenham does not claim that all foreign aid policies are explicable in terms of the liberal tradition; but he insists that the doctrines and theories were significantly influenced by at least four absolutist premises derived from this nation's historic and uncritical love affair with liberalism: that change and development are easy, that all good things go together, that radicalism and revolution are bad, and that distributing power is more important than accumulating power. He concedes that economic needs and demands occasionally helped to determine American policies on political development, but they fall far short of explaining all that needs to be explained.

In his insistence that security perceptions (whether correctly focused or not) and liberal ideology conditioned American efforts to effect political changes overseas, Packenham offers a sound and useful corrective to some of the more sweeping assertions of revisionist historians about the pre-eminently economic thrust of American policy in the cold war. It is good to be reminded, for example, that this nation's policies did not develop in an ideological vacuum. Just as it is impossible to understand Soviet policy in political development outside Russia without understanding Marxist-Leninist



ideology, so it is futile to explain American doctrines and policies in political development without reference to the less explicit, less self-conscious, yet overwhelmingly pervasive liberal tradition.

With that enviable license political scientists enjoy, Packenham prescribes for the future; and while his suggestions are reasonable ones, they are somewhat beside the point. American aid policy must be reoriented in the direction of a low profile, neutral diplomatic approach. This country should "get out of the way" of "certain kinds" of third-world political developments. It should learn to accept radical and revolutionary modes of political change—"under certain circumstances." This prescription, of course, presupposes a radical shift in American attitudes toward social change both at home and abroad. In the end, Packenham must rely optimistically upon the realism of American politics to produce the results he desires in foreign policy, a very thin—and traditionally liberal—reed upon which to lean.

JOHN G. SPROAT

*University of South Carolina*

LEONARD GREENBAUM. *A Special Interest: The Atomic Energy Commission, Argonne National Laboratory, and the Midwestern Universities*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1971. Pp. xxii, 222. \$10.00.

This well-written book, based upon meticulous and exhaustive research, deals not with one but with a congeries of special interests. The big picture that Greenbaum presents requires a two-part caption: first, we see a scientific community trying to maintain its public image as an antiseptically objective, and thus united, elite group whose only motivation is selfless service to Knowledge; second, we find a tireless struggle by contending supplicants within the scientific community for a limited, albeit very large, bounty of government funds.

The focus of the narrative is the Argonne National Laboratory in Illinois, one of several laboratories established after the end of the Second World War by the Atomic Energy Commission. The burden of the narrative is the way in which the AEC resisted for years the pressure of high-energy physicists in two dozen Midwestern universities to build for them at Argonne or elsewhere a giant accelerator that would be at least as big and costly as those already being built on the East and West coasts. In 1947 the AEC decided to concentrate its nuclear reactor development program, which

included the submarine propulsion reactor, at Argonne. The chief result was that the laboratory was interested primarily in development of actual reactors; "pure" research, which is what the university physicists were interested in, was squeezed aside by work the laboratory management and the AEC considered more urgent.

When, in 1955, an accelerator was to be installed at Argonne, the physicists wanted a bigger machine; furthermore, they wanted it under their control, not Argonne's. The physicists were supported in their lobbying by their university presidents, who apparently swung sufficient weight to force the AEC to listen. The AEC's response, in order both to save face and to get the presidents off their backs, was to go ahead with the Argonne accelerator while promising the Midwestern universities, some time in the indefinite future, a "dream machine"—"the best accelerator the world has ever seen." Sixteen years and five hundred million dollars later, the dream machine was installed some thirty miles from Argonne, in Weston, Illinois, under separate management.

Weston marked the political triumph of the Midwestern physicists over Argonne, which nevertheless continued to maintain its own empire intact. The only losers have been the public. Greenbaum does not say all this in so many words, because his purpose was not to be as dogmatic as this reviewer but to provide an even-handed treatment of an unbelievably complicated story of twenty-five years of lobbying, negotiations, confrontations, and evasions. Nevertheless, Greenbaum has a particular point of view, which comes through clearly; he is simply wise enough to recognize that other valid points of view are possible. In any case, he has done well a very considerable task. In one way, the book required far too much work for the importance of its subject. This Midwestern accelerator controversy is hardly worth more than a footnote in the postwar scientific pork-and-caviar-barrel operations. Yet such a book serves a useful purpose in describing, in a believable microcosm, the whole scientific enterprise. The kind of painstaking detail that Greenbaum supplies in his book is needed to convince most of us that the scientific community can in fact be so self-serving while it protests publicly its disinterest and objectivity.

Greenbaum leaves to more consistently polemical authors, such as Daniel S. Greenberg (e.g., in his *Politics of Pure Science* [1967]), the general proposition that scientists, in common with other interest groups, are guided less by



the logic of scientific patterns than by the availability of money, but that they will nevertheless fight hard to maintain and expand whatever field of specialization they may have chosen at the outset of their careers. In its own way, *A Special Interest* makes a more convincing case than do polemical works. It will probably have a longer shelf life, too.

EUGENE S. FERGUSON  
University of Delaware  
Hagley Museum

RICHARD F. HAYNES. *The Awesome Power: Harry S. Truman as Commander in Chief*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1973. Pp. vii, 359. \$12.95.

This book has the misfortune to be sandwiched between the feisty gossip of Merle Miller's *Plain Speaking*, and the elegant revisionism of Bert Cochran's *Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency*. It lacks the flair to compete with either—more's the pity, for it is a competent work, logically organized and carefully researched. But it tends to be corroborative rather than groundbreaking, and since it adds nothing really new to the controversy between the cold-war revisionists and their counterrevisionist cousins, both are likely to ignore it. Indeed, Haynes abjures judgments in most cases, speculative or otherwise, and so remains curiously aloof from the thicket, which is unfortunate, for his subject lies at its heart.

Aside from a few minor errors (the author seems unaware that Negro aviation units fought in Europe, for instance), there is little to criticize except Haynes's hesitancy. For example, Truman's refusal to seek congressional sanction for the Korean intervention is puzzling. Even an informed guess about Truman's motives, given Haynes's obvious familiarity with archival sources, would be valuable. All we get, however, is a statement that Truman's actions were "difficult to comprehend" (p. 183). Similarly, Truman's advocacy of universal military training (UMT) is interesting because it tells us something about his character, which was a blend of emotional egalitarianism and impetuous authoritarianism. The totalitarian overtones of UMT bothered Truman not at all, thus illustrating the snappish cocksureness that enabled him to urge the drafting of strikers, to threaten mayhem on music critics, and to rest easy ever after with the A-bomb decision.

In retrospect, something like UMT might have prevented front-line units in Vietnam from being predominantly poor, black, or both,

but probably not. The progeny of the privileged, like the Bundys and the Rusks, would surely have had the wits to emerge from UMT in staff, liaison, and intelligence billets, thereby leaving the dying to the sad sacks and the hot bloods. Still one wonders, and Marshall's fear that selective service "imposed on too few the entire burden of military service" (p. 87) seems eerily accurate. Perhaps Truman had something, though of course he did not regard military service as a burden but rather a privilege, which indeed it was for him, since it lifted him out of the obscurity of his first thirty-three years. Unfortunately, Haynes leaves us to draw most of these conclusions for ourselves.

Haynes sees Truman as the first of the "new" presidents (or as Schlesinger would say "imperial" presidents) because he handled major crises without formal congressional advice and consent. Indeed, Haynes suggests that Truman acted decisively in times of crisis because, hamstrung as he was domestically by the conservative coalition, they were the only times he could act. Such opposition as Truman encountered came mainly from conservative Republicans like Robert A. Taft, who usually proceeded to cut the ground from their own position by approving Truman's actions in practice, while complaining about them merely in principle. In short, Truman set the stage for the notion that the president might properly make his most crucial decisions in lonely isolation. It would take the agonies of the Johnson and Nixon years before substantial numbers of congressional critics would begin to quarrel with that notion.

GEORGE E. HOPKINS  
Western Illinois University

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948*. Volume 9, *The Western Hemisphere*. (Department of State Publication 8626.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1972. Pp. xii, 801. \$6.75.

This ably edited volume reveals how the Latin American nations reacted to the priority that the United States had given by 1948 to strengthen Western Europe. Latin America had its own priorities—for export-import loans, for economic aid to improve infrastructure and alleviate dollar shortages, for military assistance and arms purchases, for support in disputes with rival neighbors, plus a host of other issues ranging over the wide spectrum so characteristic of relations between "the one and the twenty."

Secretary of State Marshall and other State Department officials were sympathetic and often helpful in responding to Latin American concerns. But the word went out—and at times had to be repeated for emphasis—that American resources, expended so lavishly during the war, were not limitless, that commitments to Europe would come first, and that Latin America would have to adjust accordingly.

Even so, Secretary Marshall hardly turned his back on Latin America. He dutifully attended the Ninth International Conference of American States at Bogotá, where rioting mobs, triggered by a political assassination but exploited to result in planned violence and arson, probably communist-inspired, temporarily endangered the American delegation. The disturbances damaged but did not destroy the conference. Bogotá proved, perhaps, that diplomacy by formal inter-American conference was a risky nineteenth-century legacy to a United States now heavily burdened with foreign obligations. In spite of its many difficulties Bogotá produced the Charter of the OAS, an achievement, Mechem persuasively has argued, that represented a cumulative result of all the endeavors of inter-American diplomacy since 1889.

What complicated inter-American diplomacy further, of course, was that the United States had its own special interests and goals to advance in bi-lateral negotiations—settlement of war-time lend-lease accounts, retention of certain key military bases, encouragement to private American oil investment and exploration by lessening Latin American restrictions, achievement of the proper response to governmental overthrows (should nonrecognition be a diplomatic weapon?), and the long-standing hope that Latin America could combine political stability with meaningful domestic reforms. What stands out in today's world is the Pentagon's insistence, strongly supported by the State Department, that now was the time to make the Western Hemisphere self-sufficient in oil and Secretary Marshall's realistic argument, stated in several despatches, that the best means of defeating communism in Latin America was to institute internal political and economic reform.

The overall portrait that emerges is not that of a United States overemphasizing the Communist threat and trying hard to bend inter-American relations to counter it, as Connell-Smith has maintained. It is rather that of a nation alert to the possibility, in Brazil and Chile especially, that the Communist threat

did exist, and should be watched. Clearly beset by 1948 with mounting problems in a restive world, the United States was discovering how limited its own capabilities were in meeting them, perhaps especially so in Latin America.

This volume contains interesting evidence to suggest that some Latin American countries tried to enlist in the cause of anticommunism as a means of winning support from the United States. But there is not much evidence to prove that the State Department responded eagerly to such gambits. In a revealing interview Perón confessed that he had ordered his foreign minister at Bogotá to "play a little poker" with the United States. The American embassy's analysis and assessment of Perón's famous "third position" stand up as realistic, professional diplomacy at its best.

Much of American diplomacy in the hemisphere during 1948 related closely to economic and military issues. Thus exchanges of correspondence with officers in the Pentagon, with Defense Department specialists, and, above all, with Treasury and other officials charged with economic policy, take on special importance. The editors have selected such documents skillfully and judiciously, giving another impressive demonstration why historians of American diplomacy are so much in debt to the Foreign Relations series.

RUSSELL H. BOSTERT  
Williams College

ELMO RICHARDSON. *Dams, Parks & Politics: Resource Development & Preservation in the Truman-Eisenhower Era*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1973. Pp. 247. \$11.25.

With a thoroughness reminiscent of Donald C. Swain's *Federal Conservation Policy, 1921-1933* (1963), Elmo Richardson has plunged with both hands into the history of the politics of conservation in the decade following World War II. There will be many, even in the historical profession, for whom *Dams, Parks and Politics* will constitute more than they could ever want to know about natural resource administration from 1946 to 1956. But for the specialist in the environmental or political history of the Truman-Eisenhower years, the book is a fascinating microscope. Unquestionably Richardson is unique in his ability to explain (not just describe) resource-oriented decisions in the period of his concern. For the nonspecialist the generalizations that occasionally rise from Richardson's details are the significant contribution. He helps build historical under-

standing of the characteristics of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, their relation to each other as well as to the preceding Franklin D. Roosevelt years. Richardson also helps in the currently vital task of understanding how wise and unwise decisions regarding the environment are made.

On balance, the failings of Truman and Eisenhower resource policies outweigh the achievements. Richardson's record of bureaucratic inertia, profiteering, partisan politics, and shallow ecological understanding constitutes a handbook on how not to manage the environment. After tracing the demise of plans for the Columbia Valley Authority, Richardson argues that Eisenhower's election in 1952 constituted a "mandate for change." This was nowhere more evident than in resource policy where two decades of relatively tight federal control by the Democrats left private economic interests with prodigious appetites for exploitation. The presence in the post of secretary of the interior of onetime Oregon Chevrolet dealer Douglas "Giveaway" McKay did little to stem the tide. Suddenly in the early 1950s it appeared that dam builders, loggers, grazing interests, and oilmen would be given a free rein. Even the national park and monument system was threatened. The achievements of a half century in nature preservation and ecologically sound, federally controlled use of the public domain seemed about to be lost in the surge away from the New Deal.

The test case, and the major episode in this book, involved a dam proposed by the Bureau of Reclamation within Dinosaur National Monument on the Colorado-Utah border. Only an all-out effort by a coalition of friends of national parks and wilderness blocked Echo Park Dam in 1955. This, in many opinions, saved the national park system in the form we know it today. Complete understanding of the Dinosaur issue depends on a broader grasp of the intellectual context than Richardson reveals, but by detailing the political infighting of the controversy he supplies a vital part of the whole.

RODERICK NASH  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

TOWNSEND HOOPES. *The Devil and John Foster Dulles*. (Atlantic Monthly Press Book.) Boston: Atlantic—Little, Brown. 1973. Pp. xiv, 562. \$15.00.

Shortly after resigning as under secretary of the air force in 1969, Townsend Hoopes wrote

*Limits of Intervention*. In it he described policy making in the Indochina War of the late 1960s and suggested that the road to sensible American foreign policy had been lost years before. In his new book, *The Devil and John Foster Dulles*, Hoopes attempts to pinpoint the origins of calamity by providing a full-scale portrayal of one of this country's most important foreign policy makers.

This book is a good narrative and provides the most elaborate and careful chronology yet available of American foreign policy during the Eisenhower years. Whether the book is much more than chronology is something else again. As an analysis of American foreign policy, and a key policy maker, it remains too much mired in soggy old clichés that have been a mainstay of liberal criticism. Hoopes demonstrates no familiarity with the extensive work on U.S. foreign policy done by historians, political scientists, and economists in recent years and his work remains theoretically immature as a result. Even in source materials, he has relied almost exclusively on long after-the-fact interviews and secondary works, by and large ignoring the rich resources of Dulles's personal papers and the Eisenhower Library.

Beneath his chronology, for example, Hoopes describes the towering figure he takes as his focus with a traditional amalgam of unattractive characteristics: an enormously ambitious striver determined all his life to be secretary of state; a devout Presbyterian and a rabid anti-communist, a man of total inflexibility in negotiations with the infidels in Moscow or Peking; and a shrewd and ruthless lawyer given to tactical preoccupations rather than long-range planning. Under the sway of this man, American foreign policy during the 1950s took all the wrong directions. The firmness of Truman and Acheson, justified during the 1940s, Hoopes argues, was maintained to the point of *rigor mortis*. From Guatemala and Cuba, to Egypt and Iran, to Vietnam and Quemoy-Matsu, communist devils were seen plotting—and called forth blistering rhetoric and missile-rattling maneuvers. Hoopes maintains that Dulles and those he dominated never grasped the complex drives of nationalism or the heterogeneity of the world of the 1950s. A little more reasoning perceptivity might have opened more roads to world peace and avoided tragedies like the Indochina War—and at Dulles's door, Hoopes lays heavy responsibility for it.

What a relief it would be for critics of American foreign policy if it were all this simple—if American foreign policy in the

1950s owed all its dismal failings to a megalomaniacal anticommunist christer and to the weakness of Eisenhower and all those who let him hold American foreign policy by the throat. No, Hoopes has created his own devil in looking back at that era. Describing Dulles reacting to every crisis by glowering at Moscow or Peking, Hoopes might just as well be describing his own tendency to see Dulles's religious anticommunism at the root of all U.S. policies. Nowhere does he come to grips with the question of what real U.S. interests were served by vehement anticommunism in these years; for example, while Hoopes mentions Dulles's long career as an international business lawyer, he makes no attempt to tie this background in with such crucial matters as policy toward Germany, the Middle East, and Japan. In this regard, he shows no awareness of the materialistic side of the Calvinist coin. Nor does Hoopes seriously consider the utility of anticommunism in the 1950s—the way in which it could be used to gain congressional or public approval for administration policies as it was in the 1940s.

For all of Dulles's clear susceptibility to criticism, in other words, something more solid seems to be called for, something more than a series of Herblock cartoons put into prose. The dichotomy of a good Truman-Acheson team versus a bad Eisenhower-Dulles team is too simple: it ignores the complexity of foreign policy during the 1950s and, as well, the possibility that the tragedy of American diplomacy may go back further than Dulles's tenure.

RONALD W. PRUESSEN  
*Temple University*

STEPHEN R. WEISSMAN. *American Foreign Policy in the Congo, 1960–1964*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1974. Pp. 325. \$13.50.

This provocative study is a comparative analysis of the Congo policies of the United States during the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations. The author interviewed many of the decision makers on Congo policy during the years 1960–64, and made good use of abundant other source materials. He is critical of both the moderate Republicans and the liberal Democrats for their fixation on the danger of communism as a motive for intervention in the Congo. In his own view it is "practically impossible to imagine the Congo slipping into the Soviet camp" (p. 279). He believes that some of the liberal Africanists stressed the danger of Communist penetration,

not because they believed it, but in order to goad the United States into action. He points out, however, that the anti-Communist policy of the United States in the Congo was qualified and even shaped by our deference to Belgian policy, "a deference which was in part the customary nod to NATO partners and in part the conservative ideology of the Eisenhower administration."

In a series of interesting biographical vignettes, he suggests that the mistaken assumption that the Congo would slip from chaos into communism was the result of the upper-class business and government backgrounds of the decision makers, which clouded their understanding of the fervor of nationalist leaders and the complexities of Congo politics. While he blames both conservatives and liberals, he is particularly caustic on the "Messianic complex" of the liberals, and concludes that "the Congo was only an instance of Kennedy's most glaring failure: his incapacity as a statesman." He considers President Kennedy guilty of an overcautious attempt to balance incompatible policies not only in the Congo but in the Cuban invasion and in Vietnam as well. Too often Kennedy's compromises "were the product of pure caution."

In one brief passage (p. 256) the author acknowledges that the liberals succeeded in helping to end the Katanga secession, thereby making a contribution toward maintaining the territorial integrity of the Congo. Other historians value this achievement more highly than Weissman does.

Viewing his Congo story as a case study of American intervention in the third world, the author asserts that "some fashionable explanations" of this intervention are inadequate (p. 300). Economic interpretations do not explain why the United States helped crush the Katanga secession "over the protests of some interested business men with good political connections." And he questions whether our economic stake in the Congo was big enough to provoke a sizeable politico-military intervention." He concludes that the "socio-historical perspectives" of the decision makers were more relevant than economic expansionism in explaining why the United States intervened.

VERNON MCKAY  
*Johns Hopkins University*

ANATOLII ANDREIEVICH GROMYKO. *Through Russian Eyes: President Kennedy's 1036 Days*. Washington: International Publishers. 1973. Pp. xviii, 239. \$9.95.



This book, while disappointing as a scholarly work, is extraordinary in many ways. Professor Gromyko's father has been the foreign minister of the Soviet Union since 1957, and he himself is the head of the Foreign Policy Section of the Soviet Academy of Science's America Institute. Moreover, the author is regarded as one of his nation's leading experts on American affairs. Thus, his opinions can be deemed to represent the attitudes of an important segment of the Russian political and academic hierarchy, which makes his myopic view of American society and policy all the more distressing.

Although Gromyko's mathematics are more precise than Arthur Schlesinger's, his assessment of John F. Kennedy's troubled days as president is infinitely less persuasive. The author surveys in a cursory fashion Kennedy's thorny path to the White House. He states that Kennedy "totally suited the monopolists of the northeastern U.S." (p. 49), whose Machiavelian machinations he feels control virtually every facet of American life; and he observes that Kennedy soon learned that "an American political leader must know how to be cunning and to maneuver" (p. 22).

Gromyko characterizes Kennedy as little more than a lackey of more powerful and sinister forces in American society. The author's constantly reiterated thesis is that Kennedy, both as senator and president, was "subservient to the general interests of the American monopolies [and] rendered active assistance to the ruling class in the attainment of its goals domestically as well as abroad" (p. 83).

It is logical that the book focus principally on the foreign policy of the Kennedy administration, for this was truly its cynosure, but the delineation of the issues is a masterpiece of obfuscation. Kennedy's performance in the international arena, particularly vis-à-vis Cuba and Vietnam, is quite a legitimate subject of debate, and many American commentators, such as Richard Walton, Richard Barnett, and Ronald Steele, have recently offered caustic critiques of it, but Gromyko's assessment often sinks virtually to the level of a blatant Soviet propaganda tract. His dogmatism, shibboleths, and simplistic approach to very complex matters unfortunately vitiate what might have been an enlightening commentary by a knowledgeable foreign observer. Furthermore, considering Gromyko's scholarly eminence in his native land, the book reveals some regrettable facts about the nature of contemporary Soviet historiography; and even in the current heady aura of détente, one must, perhaps, remain

skeptical of the depth of the Russian commitment to rapprochement—both on the political and intellectual level.

E. BERKELEY TOMPKINS

*National Historical Publications Commission*

G. POPE ATKINS and LARMAN C. WILSON. *The United States and the Trujillo Regime*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 245. \$10.00.

ABRAHAM F. LOWENTHAL. *The Dominican Intervention*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. x, 246. \$10.95.

Caribbean specialists recognize dictatorship and revolution as historically endemic area characteristics requiring analysis in the manner of other phenomena. To scholars inured to despotic excesses, the events of the Trujillo regime, the interregnum, and the intervention of 1965 are nonetheless examples of gross human behavior. These two works are important contributions to the flourishing bibliography of American involvement in Dominican affairs.

Although the two studies consider different topics and incorporate different approaches, the impact of Trujillo and the overwhelming presence of the United States in the events described are significant common factors. Both works also transcend their immediate subjects in a search for explanations of past failures and for new understandings that might improve future performance.

The Atkins and Wilson study is the cooperative work of two young political scientists and reflects contemporary methodological thinking in that discipline. The authors believe that their work is the first general survey of United States relations with the Trujillo regime; a more accurate description might be that it is the first dispassionate survey of United States-Dominican relations with particular reference to Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina and his legacy. Their findings are plausible and probably valid. The pattern of intervention, nonintervention, and intervention, they argue, demonstrates more than anything else the limitations on the capabilities of the United States to influence the development of Latin America, politically or otherwise.

Many of the ideas that the writers articulate and document will come as no surprise to diplomatic historians. The policies of maintaining political stability and encouraging representative democracy have proven incompatible. The dilemma emerged with the acceptance of the principle of nonintervention in the 1930s.



Underwriting dictators to assure stability has offended the idealism of *latinos*; the resort to intervention in the name of democracy has impugned their honor. The Trujillo case suggests that the United States should behave more realistically in its relations with *caudillos*. It should, perhaps, indirectly attempt to modify dictatorships, but it should not support them in the belief that they are more stable than other forms. The authors also maintain that stability in the long run depends on an open society, and with the other Latin states, American policy should encourage democracy but subordinate ideology. It must be understood that failure is a possibility.

Unlike the broad survey approach of the first work, Abraham F. Lowenthal's impressive account focuses on a single event. As a development specialist in the Dominican Republic at the time of the 1965 intervention, he capitalized on the fortuitous circumstance of his mission to probe and assess the extraordinary event he witnessed. His meticulous reconstruction emphasizes the pre-emptive theme in the policy of the United States and sets the stage for a provocative conclusion.

Identifying and refuting three interpretations of the intervention, Lowenthal suggests an alternative explanation, fragments of which some analysts have previously applied to other American diplomatic *fracasos*. The official, radical, and liberal views are inadequate because they do not account for all the evidence. The real culprit, the author believes, is the "rational policy model." In its stead he posits an inhibiting procedural-organizational-preceptive hypothesis. Human frailties abound in this conception, running the gamut from accidents and indecision through fear, jealousy, and intrigue to reliance on misleading analogies and wishful thinking. Operating within the established conceptual framework, officials on many levels made a series of decisions, the cumulative effect of which led to the intervention.

Both works have valuable comprehensive bibliographies, although Lowenthal's use of interviews and other unpublished sources is more creative. His narrow topic allows a richness of analysis that is particularly satisfying. Both works are nonpolemical, identify policy weaknesses, and include valuable insights regarding the diplomatic process. Both implicitly reject economic motivation, which will upset New Empire publicists. And a common penchant for model building heightens a tract-of-the-times aspect.

But neither contribution is without its lim-

itations. The Atkins-Wilson investigation lacks the penetrating and sustained historical analysis necessary to support its level of generalization. At its weakest it becomes an outline of formal policy development, highlighting the official actions of diplomats, presidents, legislators, admirals, and generals. The authors also seem to have overemphasized the extent to which the policy of the United States has attempted to promote democracy in the Caribbean. Stability, a function of security, has certainly received far more emphasis. Nor should the democratic impulse be related to the Western Hemisphere Idea, which in its pristine form holds that self-determination is the basis for the hemispheric community. Deletion of the first chapter, a heavily laden methodological statement, would be an improvement.

The obvious limitations on the historical treatment of the recent past, the unavailability of significant sources, and the lack of perspective especially apply to Lowenthal's work. A second major problem concerns the author's stress on irrationality, which assumes deterministic proportions. To reject the liberal premise that the statesmen of an enlightened republic can make rational decisions is to reject two centuries of Western wisdom. A simpler explanation of the Dominican blunder is that the intelligence function failed and that the political leadership in the United States, inexperienced in the arena of foreign affairs, overreacted.

Six years after the assassination of an archetypal Dominican dictator, the American special commissioner in his confidential report to the president stated that the deceased's rule had been a despotism. "Brutal cruelty, insatiable greed, moral degeneracy, were the man's personal characteristics, and they shaped his political conduct and his administrative activity. . . . it was the peace of a merciless terrorism, not the quiet of civil government." Jacob H. Hollander's remarks to Theodore Roosevelt on Ulises Heureaux could equally be applied to Rafael Trujillo. The failure that led to the intervention of 1965 is a classic confirmation of the Santayanan nightmare of dooms of repetition for those who do not learn from history.

L. LEJEUNE CUMMINS  
California State University,  
Hayward

JOSEPH M. SIRACUSA. *New Left Diplomatic Histories and Historians: The American Revisionists*. (National University Publications, Series

in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 138. \$6.95.

This small book has a large purpose: "to analyze recent trends in the writing of American diplomatic history, paying particular attention to the origin, nature and significance of the so-called 'New Left.' . . ." The result is disappointing. Siracusa's discussion of "recent trends" is limited to the works of a dozen or so well-known revisionists, and his "analyses" (frequently relying upon published reviews) are seldom more than superficial observations. At least half of the text consists of summaries, in paraphrase and quotation, of studies by the following historians: Williams, "the master"; LaFeber and McCormick on the nineteenth century; Levin, Mayer, and Parrini on World War I; Gardner and R. F. Smith on the New Deal; and Alperovitz, LaFeber, Kolko, and Gardner on the origins of the cold war. Although Siracusa would have liked to emulate Robert W. Tucker's critical yet perceptive *The Radical Left and American Foreign Policy* (1971), his obvious aversion for the New Left results in a pedestrian assault more akin to *The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War* (1973), the literal-minded, virulent attack by Robert James Maddox.

The first chapter of *New Left Diplomatic Histories and Historians* reveals the quality of analysis throughout. Seeking "origins and antecedents," Siracusa is satisfied with such observations on the New Left as they were "inspired by" their reaction to the cold war climate of opinion; their ideas were provided by Beard and Marx ("the New Left's nonliving heroes"); they have created "an historiography of protest"; they assume a direct connection between America's capitalist political economy and expansionism; they are economic determinists who prefer a nearly self-sufficient democratic socialism. Some of these familiar observations help to explain some aspects of some of the studies Siracusa examines, but they are irrelevant and decidedly unhelpful for explaining others. Merely to observe at this time that the New Left "turned the Realist critique inside out," seeing design where George Kennan *et al.* saw bungling, reveals nothing new about the relationship between the two dominant analytical models used in the study of American diplomatic history.

Beyond the partisan debate and the rigid defense of a single view engendered by it lies the difficult problem of sorting out and explaining the strengths and advantages—as well

as the weaknesses and limitations—that each explanatory paradigm brings to the task. The hot and cold wars of our time raised new questions about American foreign policy that the liberal-realist perspective did not, in fact could not, accept. In history as in science insufficiency rather than error is generally responsible for the passing on, or revising of, theories, and the historiographical evolution we are observing in diplomatic history is a case in point.

Although the New Left's explanatory paradigm has clear limitations, it already has made significant contributions, as R. W. Tucker has shown. Siracusa, however, disagrees. As evidence for his position he summarizes, in his fifth and final chapter, the opinions of "various well-known and respected practitioners in the field of United States diplomatic history." "In sum," he writes, "much of the New Left diplomatic history that emerged in the 1960's lacked intellectual validity." Unhappily, his evaluation of their work is more appropriate for his own.

MARTIN J. SHERWIN  
Princeton University

#### CANADA

JOHN L. FINLAY. *Social Credit: The English Origins*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1972. Pp. 272. \$8.50.

Social Credit parties presently flourishing in some Canadian provinces have little more than their name to connect them with doctrines espoused by Major C. H. Douglas, founder of the doctrine. This book is a pioneer investigation of what Keynes called the "underworld" of economic reform movements in Britain in the half century before the Second World War, a kaleidoscope of obscure groups ornamented by not a few well-known personages. Finlay finds background for social credit in theories of underconsumption and distributism that were debated at the turn of the century, but he appears to accept Douglas's claim to original inspiration. He also shows considerable sympathy for Douglas's belief that a system of controlled credit developed by payment of a national dividend, coupled with the fixing of "just price" based on a computation of consumption as well as of cost of production, could put an end to poverty and economic slumps and create an age of plenty.

Finlay shows that social credit was strongly

tinged with anarchism and was also curiously subject to dichotomy because it attracted persons from widely different philosophies and schools of thought; but he holds that it was smeared to an unjustifiable extent as fascist and anti-Semitic. He attributes its failure and present sterility to innate weakness, especially to inability to produce a sequential line of thought that could attract and maintain general support. Social credit theory, which aimed at fighting the evils caused by power groups exploiting liberal capitalism, was unable to convince enough people that it offered a better solution than socialism, its arch rival. Partial remedies—for instance, Keynesian programs—by alleviating problems that social credit aimed to eradicate, made it possible for interest groups to ridicule Douglas and his theories. Douglas's inadequacies as a leader, his opposition to organization until too late, his arbitrary actions when he reluctantly agreed to move on the political level, and his jealousy of competing associates are described by the author but are discounted.

This book is important not so much as a background for minority party development in Canada as for the fact that when Keynesian programs have been shown to be insufficient, developments like proposals for a guaranteed income, which resemble Douglas's national dividend, have become practical politics. Finlay concludes that we are all now to some extent Social Creditors.

RICHARD A. PRESTON  
Duke University

#### LATIN AMERICA

STUART B. SCHWARTZ. *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil: The High Court of Bahia and Its Judges, 1609-1751*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. xxvii, 438. \$17.50.

Those who have followed recent developments in Brazilian colonial history will be aware that Dr. Schwartz has struck a rich and rewarding vein with this book, of which we had a preview in his article, "Magistracy and Society in Colonial Brazil" (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, 50 [1970]: 715-30). This article came as an eye opener to me and probably to most other readers, since it had been widely assumed that the judges and magistrates of the Portuguese colonial world did not attain anything like the importance of those who played such a vital

role in colonial Spanish America. This book confirms in well-documented detail the importance of the magistracy in the society of colonial Bahia and, by inference, in the rest of the Portuguese empire.

Perhaps the judicial and administrative powers of the *Relações* or High Courts of Goa, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro did not quite measure up to those exercised by the *Audiencias* of Mexico, Lima, and Bogotá, but they were certainly great. As Schwartz observed, "the politico-administrative powers of the *Relação* of Bahia, while great, were to a large extent negative. Many aspects of colonial government lay in the hands of other institutions, but the High Court's ability to check, limit, or delay the policies and actions of virtually everyone else in the Colony placed it at the fulcrum of power. The power to prevent something was as crucial as the power to act, and it gave the *Relação* enormous leverage in the conduct of government" (p. 359).

Schwartz's task was facilitated to some extent by the fact that all the judges (*desembargadores*) who served in the *Relação* had to be law graduates from Coimbra University, and the records concerning their admission, matriculation, and subsequent postings are pretty well complete. This has enabled him to analyze their social origins and follow their careers in enviable detail. He is particularly informative on the interpenetration of these judges with the planter society of Bahia and the resulting network of business and social relationships formed by intermarriage and *compadrio* (godparentage).

It is hoped that this original and well-researched book, marred only by occasional infelicities of style and awkward turns of expression, will stimulate further research on related subjects, such as the older High Court of Goa (founded in 1544) and on the colonial magistracy in other regions of Brazil.

C. R. BOXER  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

D. C. M. PLATT. *Latin America and British Trade, 1806-1914*. (The Merchant Adventurers.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. xi, 352. \$12.50.

This work combines attention to entrepreneurial decision making and business history with the broad brush strokes painted by the economic historian. As such, it serves those who seek rich detail on British-Latin American trade

relations and the options that faced the British businessman.

A United States audience should particularly benefit from the references to works available to the author in England. Platt has made copious use of the United Kingdom trade and navigation accounts, British consular reports, and published sources of limited availability. The book is happily dotted with thirty-three statistical tables and six figures drawn from scholarly works, government reports, and reviews of trade. Because the author assiduously avoids analysis or synthesis of data (an exception being figure 5), the materials in the statistical tables can be used with profit by others who wish to compute percentages, distributions, averages, and so forth, that for some purposes sharpen the focus on the statistical facts assembled in the course of research.

Despite the merits of the work, one might have wished for a somewhat more "modern" approach. Capital and labor, migration, and foreign investment are treated much as they would have been treated by George Paish and Michael Mulhall over a half century ago. Yet the literature on investment in human capital, migration, and economic growth is now more than a decade old. Platt properly calls attention to the deficiencies of existing estimates of foreign investment; it also would have been useful for him to have explored the balance of payments implications of profit and capital remittances associated with those investments.

More basic than these conceptual problems is the absence of an analytical scheme tying the book together. Platt introduces such a scheme in his final chapter but then only in a negative form; he argues that Latin America never was the open arena of world trade in which British skill in exporting was tested against German and American rivals. Anyway, British businessmen had more lucrative markets within the Empire; hence the decline in Britain's share of Latin American trade need not be viewed as evidence of British failure to keep up with the competition. But surely the Latin American experience does not support the alternative hypothesis, namely, that all was well with British manufacturing in the late nineteenth century.

Is it fair to ask an author to write a book different from the one he has written? Probably not. The value of this work lies in its meticulous scholarship and the author's decision to remain close to the facts.

WILLIAM PAUL MCGREEVEY  
Smithsonian Institution

JOHN LYNCH. *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826*. (Revolutions in the Modern World.) New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1973. Pp. xxvii, 433. \$15.00.

A unified account of the Spanish American independence movement has long been needed, though there is no lack of histories of the revolutions in individual countries, many of them in the familiar "patriotic" genre. In this volume Professor Lynch, whose qualifications are widely recognized, fills a gap.

He presents the overall movement as converging sweeps of a vast pincers. The southern arm swung west and north from the River Plate, the northern west and south from Venezuela. The two joined in Peru 175 years ago for the final victory. He regrets that since those glorious days, history has seen the anachronistic colonial societies survive intact, complete with rigid social stratification, economic underdevelopment, the pernicious hacienda system, *caudillos*, military governments, and granite ruling classes as obdurate against social change as the last Bourbon monarch, Fernando VII. Lynch seems to hope that renewed revolutionizing of social structure and economic organization will one day bring Spanish America the modern and just societies for which most of the independence generation fought.

No differentiation in political philosophies is drawn between the southern and northern arms of the revolutionary pincers, though some of the data presented might justify this. The power flow from Buenos Aires never lost its pro-oligarchy character—witness San Martín's hope of establishing a monarchy in Peru and Argentine collusion with Peru in subverting Sucre's populist, and therefore threatening, regime in Bolivia. In contrast, the force emanating from Venezuela was populist in intent and rhetoric and, where possible, in action. Santander's administration in Bogotá is, like Sucre's in Chuquisaca, an example.

The thesis that economic factors were all-important stimuli to revolt is, to me, exaggerated. Of more critical nature were regional and personal pride, demand for social mobility, and burning resentment against discrimination and exploitation. Surely men will fight more fiercely in raging fury against social, economic, and political injustice than in defense of such prosaic things as full stomachs and a desire to preserve material possessions. If so, twin revolutionary principles may be posited: social injustice, where it really exists, will sooner or later be eliminated, and the popular struggle

against it, possibly protracted over several generations, will end only when the injustice is ultimately removed. This suggests that genuine social revolutions are, in the long run, bound to win. Policy makers should take note.

In a work as broad in scope as this, specialists are likely to find minor faults. The balanced chapters on the breakup of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate (now Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia), Chile, Colombia, and Mexico are, in my opinion, more complete and accurate than those on Venezuela, Ecuador, and the later period in Peru. In Venezuela, for example, Santiago Mariño is all but ignored, but this more or less equal rival of Bolívar from 1813 on, whose political ideas eventually won out, deserves more than brief dismissal as a "minor caudillo." Fuller treatment might have been given to Sucre, who liberated Ecuador, prevented the disintegration of Peru, and won deserved praise for his progressive administration in Bolivia. There is virtually nothing on the struggles in Central America, and, considering the transcendental issues involved, the destruction of Bolívar's Colombia might have been dealt with more extensively.

The unfortunate limitation of this study to the Spanish American revolutions leaves out the dramatic and terror-inspiring black upheaval in French Haiti, the minuet-like ousting of Portugal from Brazil, to say nothing of the pattern-setting events in the English thirteen colonies. The two continent-wide independence story could be told to advantage in a single volume.

JOHN P. HOOVER  
Bethesda, Maryland

RONNIE C. TYLER. *Santiago Vidaurri and the Southern Confederacy*. [Austin:] Texas State Historical Association. 1973. Pp. 196. \$8.00.

Santiago Vidaurri, a "regional caudillo" (p. 61) of northeastern Mexico, made himself governor of Nuevo León in 1855 during the Liberal uprising that eventually brought Benito Juárez to the presidency of Mexico. By shrewd politico-military maneuvers Vidaurri expanded his power in the adjacent states until he controlled a semifeudal, subnational principality from his palace at Monterrey.

When the American Civil War began, Vidaurri and the Confederates drew together in an informal entente, Vidaurri hoping for support against the centralizing aims of Juárez and the Confederates desperately needing a bypass around the Union blockade. During 1862 and

1863 Confederates and Mexicans, led by Vidaurri's Irish-born son-in-law, the merchant Patricio Milmo, maintained a flourishing trade in cotton, munitions, and many other necessities and luxuries through Matamoros. This trade was carried on for a time in Confederate ships flying the Mexican or the British flag, the latter with the compliance of the local British consul. At the end of 1863 this mercantile idyll ended with the Union capture of Brownsville, Texas (opposite Matamoros), and in the following year Juárez, raiding into northeastern Mexico, chased Vidaurri into temporary exile. He soon returned to become one of Maximilian's Mexican coterie, but his palmy days of local autonomy were over, and when Maximilian was overthrown, Juárez had Vidaurri shot with the rest. Tyler concludes that the Monterrey *caudillo* was "something of an anachronism" (p. 156) in a Mexico that, under Juárez's heroic though erratic leadership, was struggling toward a national consciousness in which Vidaurri had no place.

The author has not attempted a full-scale biography of Vidaurri but has concentrated on what is, for Americans at least, the most significant chapter in his life. Tyler's research is thorough, balanced between American and Mexican sources; his style is direct, clear, and pithy; and he has not tried to inflate an episode into an Iliad. The result is a neatly organized little monograph, useful to students of Mexican history and of the American Civil War. It is handsomely illustrated with contemporary portraits and local scenes and includes a good map of northern Mexico and the border area. The publishers are also to be complimented for putting footnotes where they belong.

DAVID M. FLETCHER  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

DAVID RONFELDT. *Atencingo: The Politics of Agrarian Struggle in a Mexican Ejido*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 283. \$10.00.

This study traces the long struggle between a privately owned sugar mill and a varying but sizable number of *campesinos* for the control of land, labor, and production in the Atencingo *ejido* and its annexes, which constitute one of Mexico's more important and larger collective agricultural enterprises. Many authorities claim that the constant troubles experienced in this *ejido* are atypical of Mexican rural conditions and politics; others "claim



that Atencingo's history of struggle, though extreme, reveals much about agrarian political processes in Mexico" (p. 216).

Located in the state of Puebla, the Atencingo *ejido* evolved from privately owned sugar haciendas that William Jenkins, a former United States consul, acquired and consolidated after the Revolution. Gradually, and not without delaying action, Jenkins was forced to relinquish control of his estates to satisfy land-hungry peasants and demands issuing from agrarian reformers entrenched in the government. From the late 1930s, when the *ejido* was finally created, disputes developed that centered around the desire of many *ejidatarios* to be economically independent of the mill and to divide the one giant tract into separate entities, parcel the land to individual farmers, and diversify agriculture to include not only sugar but also subsistence and other cash crops.

Ronfeldt organizes his study chronologically to trace the evolution of the issues that lay at the core of the struggle; to show how the various contending forces, from grass-roots peasant organizations all the way up to the presidency, came into play; and to analyze the measures used—work stoppages, protest marches, propaganda campaigns, assassinations—to forward the cause of one or the other factions. A final summary chapter sets the politics of the agrarian struggle in Atencingo in the broader context of agrarian conflict as an abstract phenomenon. To date, reform has been postponed consistently in favor of economic stability and high levels of production through government cooptation and control.

The study demonstrates how the agrarian reform thrust of the Revolution of 1910 has taken a long time in some areas of Mexico in fulfilling promises made long ago. Let him who views the Revolution as a solution to Mexico's agrarian problems read this book carefully and ponder the story of Atencingo.

CHARLES R. BERRY  
Wright State University

ROBERT JONES SHAFER. *Mexican Business Organizations: History and Analysis*. [Syracuse:] Syracuse University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 397. \$15.00.

ROBERT W. RANDALL. *Real del Monte: A British Mining Venture in Mexico*. (Latin American Monographs, number 26. Institute of Latin American Studies, the University of Texas at Austin.) Austin: University of Texas Press, for the Institute. 1972. Pp. xvi, 257. \$8.50.

Within the past few years the writing of the history of Mexico's economic development has assumed new forms. No longer are we only following the ghost of Zapata galloping over the hills of Morelos in search of Professor Frank Tannenbaum's bucolic paradise. That vision of history was interred by Germán Parras and James Wilkie's analyses of the development of industry and Mexico's real socioeconomic policy. The abominable conservatives have begun to emerge as the true fathers of modern industrialized Mexico where, in parody of the old Russian slogan, electricity plus revolution power equals Pan Bimbo. The persistence and importance of capitalism in Mexico's economic evolution is slowly being recognized. Luis González's *Pueblo en vilo* (1968) may well be a monument to a now-passing phase of interest in backward peasant communities. While the broad picture of the economy's growth has been sketched for us by Leopoldo Solís and Clark Reynolds, Fernando Rosenzweig and David Brading, Alejandra and Enrique Florescano, Barbara and Stanley Stein, Pablo González Casanova and Roger Hansen, and Moisés González Navarro and Frank Brandenburg, we are also beginning to see the appearance of economic histories on another level. Along with Flavia Derossi's *The Mexican Entrepreneur* (Paris, 1971), Robert Shafer's *Mexican Business Organizations* gives us in the manner of the social sciences what Carlos Fuentes has been writing in novelistic style, and the milieu of Mexican private enterprise is now coming into better focus.

Having explored an operational muddle in his *Mexico: Mutual Adjustment Planning* (1966), Shafer has now essayed a study of Mexican businessmen's organizations to judge the power and influence of private enterprise in the intricacies of Mexican politics. The propaganda efforts of their various chambers have been unsuccessful in making "business" acceptable in a society endlessly mouthing revolutionary slogans. But since Mexicans are profit-oriented, business still offers a much sought-after career. The study is exhaustive and exhausting: the footnotes, in miniscule type, are as voluminous as the text, but they cannot be overlooked for they are studded with nuggets of information and sharp insights. The author's textual commentary is undisguised; he shows a basic sympathy for the Revolution and the masses while evenhandedly praising and blaming all parties concerned. Shafer has meticulously perused volumes of newspapers. More important, he has opened a

new archival source by his use of the publications of businessmen's organizations, and his notes provide an introductory guide to these materials. Furthermore, Shafer has interviewed several hundred businessmen. While he has not included summaries of these conversations as Derossi has, they are constantly referred to and should constitute a source of oral history wherever they are deposited. The strongest part of the book deals with these organizations' doctrines and programs and with their "hard history": the organization of the commercial and industrial chambers and their related civil associations and their changing legal status since 1874. Originally founded to aid merchants and industrialists, chambers were encouraged by post-Revolutionary governments in order to provide a locus of communication with the business community. Membership in a chamber was made obligatory in 1936. Equally valuable is the exploration of the alphabet soup of organizations—CONCANACO, CONCAMIN, COPARMEX, CNIT, and so forth—tracing their labors, relationships, squabbles, and policies. Most enlightening is the discussion of the role of the *Confederación Nacional de Industrias de Transformación* as the government's clique and apologist by virtue of having its members assigned to it and forced to pay dues by official fiat, thus doing away with the need to consult the membership. For reasons obvious to anyone researching recent Mexican history and battling the conspiracy of silence and ambiguity, the sections dealing with the role of the chambers in influencing government policy and the extent to which they are consulted are less satisfactory, for much is gathered by implication. Shafer concludes that the initiative for forming economic policy is held by the president, the bureaucrats, and the official party. However, businessmen are consulted more often than ever before and their complaints are listened to and heeded by contemporary administrations. Despite a high level of government "collaboration," business organizations have managed to keep their independent decision-making power while constantly increasing their influence in the public sector as spokesmen for the private sector.

To the few works we have on the economy and industry of early republican Mexico, notably Robert Potash's *Banco de Avío* (1959) and Romeo Flores Caballero's *La contrarrevolución* (1969), we can now add Robert Randall's study of British attempts to exploit the Real del Monte silver mines. Randall found a completely neglected source: a room full of com-

pany records at the mine office. He filled out his research there with visits to general archives, private collections, and the perusal of printed documents, journals, and contemporary and modern studies. The result bears comparison with the works of Clement Motten and Modesto Bargalló. While the general story of the magnificent failure of this enterprise is well known in outline, Randall has been able to put it forth in full detail with voluminous documentation. We are now able to follow the plunge of British investors into the fairyland of Mexican mines with Alexander von Humboldt acting as unwitting Pied Piper through the translation of his *Essai Politique* on New Spain. Randall recounts the financial negotiations for the British lease, the character of the managers and the Cornishmen sent over to teach the Mexicans how to mine (!), the vicissitudes met in transporting the very latest power machinery, whether suitable for Mexican conditions or not (shades of AID programs), mine finances, financial struggles in London, fights over working methods, attempts to bail the company out by investing in other Mexican mines, quarrels with the Mexican government over the company's exemption from mintage obligations, and a most interesting chapter on labor disputes in the 1820s and 1840s. While the center of attention is the mine, the reader learns much about the Mexican economy, business operations, government, and social customs. Despite the production of \$11,000,000 in silver, the enterprise lost \$5,000,000 between 1824 and 1849, and the value of its stock fell from £1,479 a share to 63 pence. In the end the mines were sold to a Mexican syndicate for a song. The English had taken over and rebuilt a ruined enterprise on the most modern principles and then were unable to see their plans through because of a lack of capital when public confidence collapsed. The new Mexican owners, freed of the burden of the British investment, were able to complete the work and bring the mine into a bonanza, leaving the intriguing question of who exploited whom. It is indeed unfortunate that this book was in process when David Brading's *Miners and Merchants* appeared, for not only would Brading's material have added to the discussions of the colonial period, but it would have provided a base for a discussion of the decisive role of tenacious capitalists with abundant capital in making Mexican mining enterprises successful.

MARVIN D. BERNSTEIN  
State University of New York,  
Buffalo

---

## Communications

---

*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication, whether concerning articles, review articles, or reviews, be no longer than 300 words. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.*

### TO THE EDITOR:

Scholarship usually implies some objectivity, not the hatchet job that Gerda Lerner did on *The Subordinate Sex: A History of Attitudes toward Women* (AHR, 79 [1974]: 1138-39). Though it is probably useless to take a reviewer to task, I do so in the hope that some might read the book and judge for themselves.

The book was intended to be a study of attitudes toward women, not a comprehensive history of women, and this is clearly stated. Since most of that which has survived on the subject of women has been written by men, it is essentially a study of male attitudes toward the female, which on the whole is a rather depressing topic. Professor Lerner complains that women's history is not just the history of male attitudes toward women, and I heartily agree, but in my opinion it is one aspect of history, and an important foundation for any more comprehensive study of women. Most of her remarks thereafter are directed at a book I did not write, and while I agree with some of her digressive remarks and disagree with others, they are not particularly pertinent to the book.

She complains about the conceptual frame-

work, but what she really means is that I am not pushing any kind of theory but reporting the rather consistent and depressing theme of the male tendency to look down on the female as subordinate. This was the stated purpose of the book. My greatest objection, however, is to her statement, "Given the absence of primary sources," which is the ultimate putdown that one historian can make about another. The book is a result of many years' study of the primary sources, and these are cited throughout the book in footnotes at the bottom of the page. True, the bibliography did not list them, but it did refer the interested reader to the notes. The "Guide for Further Reading" was what it implied, material in my judgment that the interested general reader might find helpful. It also referred readers to several recently published bibliographies on women's history, some of which now are several hundred pages long. It also referred readers to other books with complete bibliographies on specialized topics such as an earlier book by my wife and me on nursing.

In short the book is not an all-encompassing study of women in history but is a more specialized study based upon primary sources of male attitudes toward the female, toward female sexuality, and toward women as wife and mother, with occasional replies by women themselves. The readers will have to judge for themselves whether or not the book is helpful, valuable, or trash. This, however, was the book that I wrote, not the one reviewed by Professor Lerner.

VERN L. BULLOUGH  
*California State University,  
Northridge*

### PROFESSOR LERNER REPLIES:

I am quite aware of the fact that Professor Vern L. Bullough's book is "a study of male attitudes

towards women." In fact I recommended "... its usefulness. As a survey of the way in which, men have regarded women . . . ." The author may, of course, object to the reviewer's judgment, although wisdom and discretion would dictate that such objection be couched in more judicious language than calling what was a qualified endorsement of the book a "hatchet job." Further, I consider it not only the reviewer's prerogative, but his or her duty, to discuss the limitations of the scope of a work and to discourse on the implications of its conceptual framework.

Unfortunately Professor Bullough's disclaimer regarding my objection to the absence of primary sources is unimpressive in face of the evidence. The book has neither scholarly bibliography nor adequate footnotes. There is no listing of primary sources, which would aid the

scholar and interested student. Professor Bullough's footnotes, despite his claim that the reader go to them for primary sources, reveal merely that most of his work is based on secondary sources and that there is an almost complete absence of reference to manuscript and unpublished primary sources. Further, the bibliographies to which Professor Bullough refers his interested reader in "The Guide to Further Reading" are, with a few exceptions, unscholarly and addressed not to historians and the student of history, but to the general public. There is something to be said for compiling that kind of guide to sources in a book for popular consumption, but it certainly does not entitle the author to praise for his historical scholarship.

GERDA LERNER

*Sarah Lawrence College*

---

## Recent Deaths

---

JOHN T. APPLEBY, associate editor of the *American Historical Review*, died at his home in Washington, D.C. on December 19, 1974. He was born on June 10, 1907, in Fayetteville, Arkansas and received his A.B. from Harvard College in 1928. He then went to Paris, where he studied at the Sorbonne and worked as a reporter for the *Paris Times*. On returning to the United States, he settled in Washington, D.C., writing a column, "Post Impressions," and book reviews for the *Washington Post*. When the war came, he enlisted and served as a trainer in celestial navigation for the Eighth Air Force, visiting England for the first time in 1945. After the war he returned to Fayetteville, where he combined writing with operating an apple orchard. The writing proved more successful, and in 1953 he once more settled in Washington to devote himself full time to scholarship. In 1959 he became membership secretary at the American Historical Association. While he continued to maintain the register of Ph.D. dissertations for the AHA, he soon moved primarily to the *AHR*, which he served until his death.

His scholarly interest lay in England in the years between the death of Henry I and the death of John. In 1963 he published an edition of *The Chronicle of Devises of the Times of King Richard the First*, and he published four narrative histories of the period—*John, King of England* (1959); *Henry II, the Vanquished King* (1962); *England without Richard, 1189–1199* (1965); and *The Troubled Reign of King Stephen* (1969)—which display his elegant prose and his concern to interest an audience of scholars and laymen alike. But his first book, *Suffolk Summer*, published in 1948, may be the most remarkable. Growing out of his visit to England at the end of the war, it says much about the topography and spirit of that lovely county, about England in the hopeful days of

1945, and—though he was a very private person—about the author himself.

It seems strange, indeed unjust, that so able a scholar should have spent his most productive years in a post that, at first sight, amounted to a superior clerkship, and a clerkship that for most of the time paid a mere pittance. In addition to the dissertation register, he compiled the index to the *AHR* and superintended the entire, complex operation of *AHR* book reviewing from the receipt of books to the receipt of reviews. His record-keeping systems were sophisticated, ingenious, and as good as infallible; his working of them was a marvel of efficiency and meticulousness. The post gave him, however, time for his writing and allowed him to pursue his profound love of music, the one indulgence in a life that was simple and even austere.

But, as his staff colleagues and the four editors he served and guided can abundantly testify, he was no mere clerk. Although he steadfastly maintained that his world ended in 1215, he had an immense knowledge of all fields of history and brought to his tasks a knowledge of the historical profession in the United States and England that was probably unrivaled anywhere. He was in a better position than most to observe the foibles and failings of historians, and illiteracy, pretentiousness, or delinquency could call forth scathing comments in the privacy of his office; yet he was unfailing in his tact and helpfulness to everyone, quick to appreciate merit and style, and committed in the most serious way to the historical enterprise. Everyone on the staff—and others who got to know him personally—respected, were even awed by, the combination of precision, intellectual grasp, and high wit that was the hallmark of his distinctive regime at the *AHR*, as they appreciated his kindness, wisdom, and cheerfulness (none of us knew how painfully he



was suffering from leukemia) and watched with admiration his heroic struggles with—and invariable besting of—the computer.

Given his odd and virtually unknown career, his quiet colorfulness, his devotion to his dogs, his mock rages against failings, scholarly or political, one might be pardoned for thinking that Jack Appleby was an eccentric. But the balance was too fine for that. A devout and liberal Roman Catholic, a scholar in the most humane interpretation of the word, he was a gentle man and a gentleman in a sense that has almost vanished.

R. K. WEBB

*American Historical Review*

GILBERT OSOFSKY, professor of history at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle for the past eleven years, died on August 26, 1974, in Rockville, Maryland, after a long illness. He was born on March 14, 1935, in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, New York. He was educated in New York City at Brooklyn College (B.A. 1956), New York University (M.A. 1958), and Columbia University (Ph.D. 1963). Professor Osofsky's first academic appointment was at Hunter College from 1961 to 1963, when he came to Chicago to join the University of Illinois for the remainder of his tragically brief career.

Gilbert Osofsky's first book, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, 1890-1930* (1966), established his reputation as a leader in a new generation of urban and racial historians in America. Excerpted extensively and widely quoted, it has served as a model for those seeking to understand black experience in the city. His second book, *The Burden of Race: A Documentary History of Negro-White Relations in America* (1967), traced American race relations from the colonial period to the black-power movement of the 1960s through a fascinating array of documents carefully woven together by a narrative thread. His third book, *Puttin' on Ole Massa: The Slave Narratives of Henry Bibb, William W. Brown, and Solomon Northrup* (1969), made available to a wide audience three slave narratives of the 1840s and 1850s, introduced by an essay that placed them in a wider perspective. His numerous contributions to the journal literature are widely known. Some have yet to appear.

Gilbert Osofsky's untimely death at the age of thirty-nine came when he was in the midst of writing a book on the ideology of the abolitionists. This topic, which he had explored inten-

sively, was leading him in turn to develop an original approach to the meaning of nationalism and its relationship to ethnicity, which would have shaped his future scholarship.

His contribution to building our department and the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois was invaluable. His teaching and personal impact inspired both students and colleagues, establishing permanent bonds of affection and emulation. He was a man of deep compassion and empathy, and his social commitment embraced his entire professional life and also made him an activist for social justice beyond the walls of the university.

We were privileged to know and work with Gil, and he will be sorely missed in the lives of those he touched.

RONALD P. LEGON

*University of Illinois,  
Chicago Circle*

MARY LATIMER GAMBRELL, president emeritus of Hunter College of the City University of New York and professor emeritus of its history department, died in New York on August 19, 1974. She achieved the high distinction of being the first woman to assume the presidency of a co-educational college of more than 25,000 students. Her conception of the purpose of the college and of the pre-eminent responsibility of the faculty to decide academic policies was reflected in college administration during the three decades of her leadership. She served as chairman of the history department (1948-61), dean of faculties (1962-65), and as acting president and president from 1966 to July 1967 when she retired.

Miss Gambrell, for so she was known to most of us, was born in 1898 at Belton, South Carolina, to a distinguished Southern family. She received her A.B. degree from Furman University and her doctorate in history from Columbia University. As a result of her work in Dixon Ryan Fox's seminar, she published in 1937 *Ministerial Training in Eighteenth-Century New England*. After she joined the department of history in 1937, her overriding concern was to broaden and deepen the quality of education offered by the college and to secure for the faculty a determining voice in all academic matters.

Her ideal for the faculty, reflected in her own career, was the practice of academic statesmanship. To her the faculty was "the very embodiment of the college—its heartbeat." Theirs was the responsibility to set the goals and implement them if their professional aspirations were to be

fulfilled. Contributing to her own positive leadership were qualities of character that inspired confidence: an unshakeable integrity, loyalty to colleagues and the college, an adherence to established channels and open procedures so as to avoid even the semblance of arbitrary action, and a willingness to "shake the pillars of authority" if an important issue was at stake.

Hers was a commanding presence. Innate dignity and a sense of authority and purposefulness evoked immediate recognition of her high office. She set exacting standards for herself, and in their attainment she brought distinction to the college.

NAOMI G. MILLER  
Hunter College,  
City University of New York

IRVIN GORDON WYLLIE died at the age of fifty-four in Kenosha, Wisconsin, on October 25, 1974. His academic training was at Westminster College (Pennsylvania), Oberlin, and Wisconsin, where he received the Ph.D. in 1949. A gifted interpreter of American history, he taught at the University of Maryland, the University of Missouri, where he was president of the local chapter of the AAUP, and at Wisconsin, where he was the first Gordon E. Fox Professor of American Institutions and chairman of the history department. Wyllie was also a Ford Fellow at Cornell and a Fulbright lecturer at Gothenburg and Lund.

Wyllie's contributions to American social and cultural history included studies in the cult of success (*The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches* [1954]), a concise but well-documented and brilliantly conceptualized monograph; essays on the legal and ideological aspects of American philanthropy; and the relationships, or lack of them, between Social Darwinism and business thought. His interdisciplinary interests were reflected in an illuminating study of what he saw as a subculture in

southeast Missouri. Professor Wyllie set high standards for and was a stimulating teacher of graduate students. This is borne out, among other ways, by the tributes they have paid to him in their publications in the history of science, architecture, social welfare, foundations, and related subjects.

In 1966 Wyllie was named chancellor of what was to become the University of Wisconsin—Parkside. When he began, it was without a name, buildings, staff, and educational plan. With remarkable drive and persistence he was responsible for what is the most impressive academic architecture in Wisconsin. He was also the leading figure in the development of a vigorous institution with a sound, and in some ways, innovative program, especially in its relationship to the interests and needs of the Kenosha-Racine area. Within six years of its legal establishment Wisconsin—Parkside received the unconditional accreditation of the North Central Association. Chancellor Wyllie's interest in high academic standards was also evident in the work he did on the North Central's consultation and evaluation teams at several colleges and universities.

Irvin Wyllie will be remembered not only for his teaching, scholarship, and university building, but also as a generous colleague and as the warm friend of historians throughout the country. The University of Wisconsin—Parkside has initiated a fund in his memory.

MERLE CURTI  
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Other members of the association who have died recently include: Howard L. Briggs, professor emeritus of Frostburg State College in Frostburg, Maryland; Ralph Carey of Spring Arbor, Michigan; H. M. Eikenbary of Dayton, Ohio; Robert A. Kress of Mankato State College in Mankato, Minnesota; Elizabeth Rogers of New York City; and S. J. Sluska of Babylon, New York.

---

## Festschriften and Miscellanies

---

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

BIDDLE, MARTIN, *et al.* *Anglo-Saxon England*. Volume 2. Edited by PETER CLEMOES. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 333. \$19.50.

JOHN MCN. DODGSON, Place-names from *hām*, distinguished from *hamm* names, in relation to the settlement of Kent, Surrey and Sussex. KENNETH HARRISON, The beginning of the year in England, c.500–900. GERALD BONNER, Bede and medieval civilization. MARY ANNE O'DONOVAN, An interim list of episcopal dates for the province of Canterbury 850–950: part II. CYRIL HART, Athelstan "Half King" and his family. MICHAEL DOLLEY, Some Irish evidence of the *Cruix* coins of Æthelred II. RUTH MELLINKOFF, The round, cap-shaped hats depicted on Jews in BM Cotton Claudius B.iv. ELIZABETH OKASHA, A rediscovered medieval inscribed ring. P. M. KORHAMMER, The origin of the Bosworth Psalter. D. G. SCRAGG, The compilation of the Vercelli Book. J. E. CROSS, Portents and events at Christ's birth: comments on Vercelli V and VI and the Old English Martyrology. M. R. GODDEN, An Old English penitential motif. MICHAEL D. CHERNISS, The cross as Christ's weapon: the influence of heroic literary tradition on *The Dream of the Rood*. P. J. FRANKIS, The thematic significance of *enta geweorc* and related imagery in *The Wanderer*. PHILIP B. ROLLINSON, The influence of Christian doctrine and exegesis on Old English poetry: an estimate of the current state of scholarship. Allegorical, typological or neither? Three short papers on the allegorical approach to *Beowulf* and a discussion. Bibliography for 1972.

*Camden Miscellany Vol. XXV*. (Camden Fourth Series, Volume 13.) London: Royal Historical Society. 1974. Pp. 278. £3.00.

BARRETT L. BEER and SYBIL M. JACK, editors, *The letters of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547–63*. P. D. G. THOMAS, editor, *The Parliamentary Diary of John Clementson, 1770–1802*. JOSEPH BARCLAY PENTLAND and J. VALERIE FIFER, editor, *Report on Bolivia, 1827*.

CLEMOES, PETER, editor. *Anglo-Saxon England* 3. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 270. \$22.50.

R. DEROLEZ, Cross-Channel language ties. NIGEL F. BARLEY, Old English colour classification: where do matters stand? MICHAEL HUNTER, Germanic and Roman antiquity and the sense of the past in Anglo-Saxon England. VIRGINIA DAY, The influence of the catechetical *narratio* on Old English and some other medieval literature. KATHRYN HUME, The concept of the hall in Old English poetry. JOHN C. POPE, Second thoughts on the interpretation of *The Seafarer*. COLIN CHASE, God's presence through grace as the theme of Cynewulf's *Christ II* and the relationship of this theme to *Christ I* and *Christ III*. BRUCE HARBERT, King Alfred's *æstel*. RAYMOND J. S. GRANT, Laurence Nowell's transcript of BM Cotton Otho B. xi. MECHTHILD GRETSCH, Æthelwold's translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and its Latin exemplar. EARL R. ANDERSON, Social idealism in Ælfric's *Colloquy*. H. M. TAYLOR, The architectural interest of Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus*. MICHAEL DOLLEY, Towards a revision of the internal chronology of the coinages of Edward the Elder and Plegmund. CHRISTINE FELL, The Icelandic saga of Edward the Confessor: its version of the Anglo-Saxon emigration to Byzantium. H. R. LOYN, Kinship in Anglo-Saxon England. NICHOLAS BROOKS, Anglo-Saxon charters: the work of the last twenty years. MARTIN BIDDLE, ALAN BROWN, T. J. BROWN, PETER A. CLAYTON, and PETER HUNTER BLAIR, Bibliography for 1973.

*Doklady Kongressa: Izdany Natsional'nym Komitetom istorikov SSSR pri finansovoi podderzhke Akademii Nauk SSSR i Iunesko* [Reports of the Congress: Published by the National

Committee of Historians of the USSR with Financial Support from the Academy of Sciences and UNESCO]. Volume I, part 7. (XIII Mezhdunarodnyi Kongress istoricheskikh Nauk, Moskva, 16-23 avgusta 1970 goda.) Moscow: Mezhdunarodnyi Komitet istoricheskikh Nauk. 1974. Pp. 340.

Mezhdunarodnaia komissia po istorii sotsial'nykh dvizhenii i sotsial'nykh struktur [International Commission on the History of Social Movements and Social Structures]. Enquête sur les mouvements paysans dans le monde contemporain (de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours). Rapport général: ALBERT SOBOUL, Mouvements paysans contre le féodalisme (fin XVIII<sup>e</sup>-début XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle). PHILIPPE VIGIER, Mouvements paysans dans le cadre de l'agriculture et de la société rurale traditionnelles. PIERRE BARRAL and YVES TAVERNIER, Mouvements paysans visant à adapter l'agriculture à l'économie de marché. JACQUES DROZ, Mouvements paysans et mouvements nationaux (de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours). PIERRE VILAR, Mouvements paysans en Amérique Latine. En guise de conclusion: Reflexions sur les mouvements paysans et les révolutions au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Mezhdunarodnyi komitet po istorii vtoroi mirovoi voyny [International Committee on the History of the Second World War]. Trudistsissia massy v period vtoroi mirovoi voyny [The Working Masses in the Period of the Second World War]: P. A. ZHILIN, Usilia narodov SSSR v dostizhenie pobedy vo vtoroi mirovoi voine [The Efforts of the Peoples of the USSR to Achieve Victory in the Second World War]. A. BLUM, Soldier or Worker: an American Manpower Dilemma during the Second World War. M. GOWING, The Organisation of Manpower in Great Britain during the Second World War. D. PETZINA, Die nationalsozialistische Mobilisierung deutscher Arbeitskräfte vor und während des Zweiten Welt-

krieges. K. DROBISH and D. EICHHOLTZ, Die zwangsarbeit ausländischer Arbeitskräfte in Deutschland während des Zweiten Weltkrieges.

Zakliuchitel'noe zasedanie kongressa [Concluding Session of the Congress]: Discours du professeur Paul Harsin, Président du Comité International des Sciences Historiques. Discours du professeur Michel François, Secrétaire général du Comité International des Sciences Historiques. Vstuplenie predsedatelia Sovetskogo orgkomiteta kongressa akademika A. A. Gubera [Address of the President of the Soviet Organizing Committee of the Congress, Academician A. A. Guber]. V. N. LAZAREV, Iskusstvo srednevekoi Rusi i Zapad (XI-XV vv.) [The Art of Medieval Rus and the West (XI-XV centuries)].

SERJEANT, R. B. and BIDWELL, R. L., editors. *Arabian Studies I*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, for the Middle East Centre, University of Cambridge. 1974. Pp. viii, 182. \$20.00.

A. F. L. BEESTON, New Light on the Himyaritic Calendar. T. M. JOHNSTONE, Folklore and Folk Literature in Oman and Socotra. R. B. SERJEANT, The Cultivation of Cereals in Mediaeval Yemen (A Translation of the *Bughyat al-Fallāhīn* of the Rasūlīd Sultan, al-Malik al-Afdal al-'Abbās b. 'Alī, composed circa 1370 A.D.). J. C. WILKINSON, Bayāsīrah and Bayādīr. G. R. TIBBETTS, Arabia in the Fifteenth-Century Navigational Texts. PETER BOXHALL, The Diary of a Mocha Coffee Agent. G. R. SMITH, The Yemenite Settlement of Tha'bat: Historical, Numismatic and Epigraphic Notes. J. H. STEVENS, Man and Environment in Eastern Saudi Arabia. ABDULLAH 'ANKAWI, The Pilgrimage to Mecca in Mamlūk Times. MICHAEL L. BATES, Unpublished Wajihid and Būyid Coins from 'Uman in the American Numismatic Society. BRIAN DOE, Ancient Capitals from Aden.

## Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between October 1 and December 1, 1974. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

### GENERAL

- BAUMGART, WINFRIED. *Vom europäischen Konzert zum Völkerbund: Friedensschlüsse und Friedenssicherung von Wien bis Versailles*. *Erträge der Forschung*, no. 25. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1974. Pp. x, 181.
- BETHELL, NICHOLAS. *The Last Secret: The Delivery to Stalin of Over Two Million Russians by Britain and the United States*. Introd. by HUGH TREVOR-ROPER. New York: Basic Books. 1974. Pp. xiv, 224. \$8.95.
- CASSELS, ALAN. *Fascism*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1975. Pp. xiv, 401.
- CHURCHILL, WINSTON, *et al.* *If It Had Happened Otherwise*. Ed. by J. C. SQUIRE. Introd. by SIR JOHN WHEELER-BENNETT. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 320. \$8.95.
- CLUTTERBUCK, RICHARD. *Protest and the Urban Guerrilla*. New York: Abelard-Schuman. 1974. Pp. x, 309. \$10.00.
- COLLIER, RICHARD. *The Plague of the Spanish Lady: The Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919*. New York: Atheneum. 1974. Pp. 376. \$10.00.
- COLSON, ELIZABETH. *Tradition and Contract: The Problem of Order*. The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures/1973 presented at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. Chicago: Aldine. 1974. Pp. xi, 140. \$6.95.
- DARRACOTT, JOSEPH (selected and ed.). *The First World War in Posters: From the Imperial War Museum, London*. Dover Art Collections. New York: Dover Publications. 1974. Pp. xiii, 74 plates, xvii-xxiii. \$4.95.
- DE ROOVER, RAYMOND. *Business, Banking, and Economic Thought in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Studies*. Ed. by JULIUS KIRSHNER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 383. \$13.00.
- DURNBAUGH, DONALD F. (ed.). *Every Need Supplied: Mutual Aid and Christian Community in the Free Churches, 1525-1675*. Documents in Free Church History. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 258. \$15.00.
- EISENSTADT, S. N., *et al.* *Post-Traditional Societies*. Ed. by S. N. EISENSTADT. New York: W. W. Norton. [1974.] Pp. xi, 257. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$3.50.
- ELKANA, Y. (ed.). *The Interaction between Science and Philosophy*. The Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation Ser. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 481. \$17.50.
- ESLER, ANTHONY (ed. and with an introd.). *The Youth Revolution: The Conflict of Generations in Modern History*. Problems in European Civilization. Lexington, Mass. D. C. Heath. 1974. Pp. xxiii, 173. \$2.95.
- GAY, PETER, and WEXLER, VICTOR G. (eds.). *Historians at Work*. Vol. 3. New York: Harper and Row. 1975. Pp. xi, 325. \$15.00.
- GUNST, PÉTER (ed.). *Bibliographia Historiae Rerum Rusticarum Internationalis, 1969-1970*. Budapest: Museum Rerum Rusticarum Hungariae. 1974. Pp. 384.
- HARRYHAUSEN, RAY. *Film Fantasy Scrapbook*. 2d rev. ed.; South Brunswick, N.J.: A. S. Barnes. 1974. Pp. 142. \$12.00.
- HEER, FRIEDRICH. *Challenge of Youth*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1974. Pp. 224. \$8.50.
- HOBBS, THOMAS. *De Homine: Traité de l'homme*. Tr. and commentary by PAUL-MARIE MAURIN. Fondazione "Giorgio Ronchi," 23. Paris: Librairie Scientifique et Technique Albert Blanchard. 1974. Pp. 204. 30 fr.
- HOLDEN, BARRY. *The Nature of Democracy*. Nelson's Political Science Library. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. xvii, 240. Cloth \$13.75, paper \$4.85.
- International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*. Vols. 39-40, 1970-1971, including some publications of previous years. Ed. with the contribution of the national committees by MICHEL FRANÇOIS and NICOLAS TOLU for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. Paris: Armand Colin. 1973. Pp. xxviii, 567.
- KLONSKY, MILTON. *The Fabulous Ego: Absolute Power in History*. New York: Quadrangle/New York Times Book Co. 1974. Pp. xii, 436. \$15.00.
- LATREILLE, ANDRÉ. *L'ère napoléonienne*. Collection U. Paris: Armand Colin. 1974. Pp. 383.
- LIDDELL HART, B. H. *Strategy*. Signet Book. 2d rev. ed.; New York: New American Library. 1967. Pp. xxi, 426. \$2.25. See rev. of 1st ed. (1954), *AHR*, 60 (1954-55): 641.
- MARK, KARL. *The First International and After*. Ed. and with an introd. by DAVID FERNBACH. Political Writings, vol. 3. New York: Random House. 1974. Pp. 417. Cloth \$12.95, paper \$2.95.



- MCLAUGHLIN, ELIZABETH T. *Ruskin and Gandhi*. Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press. 1974. Pp. 202. \$10.00.
- MODELL, SOLOMON. *A History of the Western World*. Vol. 2. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1974. Pp. xxv, 831. \$9.95.
- MORSE, GRANT W. *Complete Guide to Organizing and Documenting Research Papers*. New York: Fleet Academic Editions. 1974. Pp. 156. \$15.00.
- MOSSE, W. E. *Liberal Europe: The Age of Bourgeois Realism, 1848-1875*. History of European Civilization Library. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1974. Pp. 180. \$3.95.
- NITTOLO, GEORGE. *Victim of Environment*. New York: Vantage Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 229. \$6.95.
- O'CONNOR, JOHN E., and JACKSON, MARTIN A. *Teaching History with Film*. Discussions on Teaching, 2. Washington: American Historical Association. 1974. Pp. 74. \$1.00.
- Oil and Security*. A SIPRI Monograph: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. New York: Humanities Press. 1974. Pp. 197. \$10.00.
- ROBERTS, MICHAEL. *Macartney in Russia*. *The English Historical Review*, supplement 7. London: Longman. 1974. Pp. 81. £1.25.
- SALTOR, JORGE E. *La crisis de la noción de verdad: A propósito de algunas investigaciones del empirismo lógico*. Cuadernos de humanitas, no. 39. Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. 1972. Pp. 122.
- SILAGI, MICHAEL. *Henry George und Europa: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der europäischen Bodenreformbewegungen*. Munich: Etana. 1973. Pp. viii, 193. DM 25.
- SOBEL, B. Z. *Hebrew Christianity: The Thirteenth Tribe*. Contemporary Religious Movements: A Wiley-Interscience Ser. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1974. Pp. xi, 413. \$12.50.
- SOWELL, THOMAS. *Classical Economics Reconsidered*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. 152. \$9.00.
- STEARNS, PETER N., and WALKOWITZ, DANIEL J. (eds.). *Workers in the Industrial Revolution: Recent Studies of Labor in the United States and Europe*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books. 1974. Pp. x, 442. Cloth \$14.95, paper \$5.95.
- SULZBERGER, C. L. *Postscript with a Chinese Accent: Memoirs and Diaries, 1972-1973*. New York: Macmillan. 1974. Pp. 401. \$10.00.
- TAYLOR, A. J. P. *The Second World War*. The Creighton Lecture in History 1973. London: University of London, Athlone Press. 1974. Pp. 15. 35p.
- TIRYAKIAN, EDWARD A. (ed.). *On the Margin of the Visible: Sociology, the Esoteric, and the Occult*. Contemporary Religious Movements: A Wiley-Interscience Ser. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1974. Pp. xv, 364. \$9.95.
- WIENER, PHILIP P. (ed. in chief). *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*. Index. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1974. Pp. 479. \$40.00. See rev. of vols. 1-4 (1973), *AHR*, 79 (1974): 103.
- WINTERBOTHAM, F. W. *The Ultra Secret*. New York: Harper and Row. 1974. Pp. xiii, 199. \$8.95.
- ZAHAR, RENATE. *Frantz Fanon: Colonialism and Alienation. Concerning Frantz Fanon's Political Theory*. Tr. by WILLFRIED F. FEUSER. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1974. Pp. xxii, 124. \$6.50.

## ANCIENT

- KINNIER WILSON, J. V. *Indo-Sumerian: A New Approach to the Problems of the Indus Script*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. 55. \$5.00.
- MASONOWICZ, DOUGLAS. *Voices from the Stone Age: A Search for Cave and Canyon Art*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1974. Pp. viii, 211. \$12.95.
- STARR, CHESTER G. *A History of the Ancient World*. 2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 742. \$15.95.
- WRIGHT, JOHN. *Dancing in Chains: The Stylistic Unity of the Comoedia Palliata*. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. 25. Rome: the Academy. 1974. Pp. xiii, 230.

## MEDIEVAL

- BARBER, RICHARD. *King Arthur in Legend and History*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1974. Pp. 192. \$8.50.
- DOBSON, R. B. *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190*. University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. Borthwick Papers no. 45. York: St. Anthony's Press. 1974. Pp. 50. 55p.
- EGBERT, VIRGINIA WYLIE. *On the Bridges of Mediaeval Paris: A Record of Early Fourteenth-Century Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 96. \$11.50.
- JACOBY, MICHAEL. *Wargus, Vargr; 'Verbrecher,' 'Wolf': Eine sprach- und rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Germanistica Upsaliensis, 12. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1974. Pp. 143.
- LAKATOS, PÁL. *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Gepiden*. With a foreword by s. SZÁDECZKY-KARDOS. Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica, vol. 17. Opuscula Byzantina, 2. Szeged: [the University;] distrib. by Kultura, Budapest. 1973. Pp. 135. \$9.00.
- LEIBOWITZ, J. O., and MARCUS, S. (eds.). *Moses Maimonides on the Causes of Symptoms: De Causis Accidentium*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. 263. \$12.00.
- NEAL, PATRICIA (ed.). *International Medieval Bibliography, July-December 1973*. Leeds: University of Leeds. 1974. Pp. xl, 209.

## BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND IRELAND

- ADAMS, IAN H. *Descriptive List of Plans in the Scottish Record Office*. Vol. 3. Edinburgh: H. M. Stationery Office. 1974. Pp. xxiii, 156. £5.77.
- BURFORD, E. J. *The Orrible Synne: A Look at London Lechery from Roman to Cromwellian Times*. London: Calder and Boyars; distrib. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1973. Pp. 256. \$12.00.
- DAWES, FRANK. *Not in Front of the Servants: A True Portrait of English Upstairs/Downstairs Life*. New York: Taplinger. 1974. Pp. 160. \$8.95.
- FLINN, M. W., and SMOUT, T. C. (eds. for the Economic History Society). *Essays in Social History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 289. Cloth \$19.25, paper \$8.00.
- HALÉVY, ÉLIE. *Histoire du peuple anglais au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Vol. 3, *Le milieu du siècle (1841-1852)*. Corrected ed. Paris: Hachette. 1974. Pp. xi, 406.

- See rev. of 1st ed. (1946), *AHR*, 54 (1948-49): 133.
- HATCHER, JOHN, and BARKER, T. C. *A History of British Pewter*. [New York:] Longman. 1974. Pp. xii, 363. \$22.50.
- KRAMNICK, ISAAC (ed.). *Edmund Burke*. Great Lives Observed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1974. Pp. vii, 180. Cloth \$7.95, paper \$3.95.
- LINDSAY, T. F., and HARRINGTON, MICHAEL. *The Conservative Party, 1918-1970*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 271. \$15.95.
- MAGEE, JOHN. *Northern Ireland: Crisis and Conflict*. The World Studies Ser. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. xviii, 196. Cloth \$10.95, paper \$5.50.
- NAGY, THOMAS L. *Ottawa in Maps/Ottawa par les cartes: A Brief Cartographical History of Ottawa/Brève histoire cartographique de la ville d'Ottawa, 1825-1973*. Ottawa: National Map Collections, Public Archives Canada. 1974. Pp. 87. \$2.50.
- ROWBOTHAM, SHEILA. *Hidden from History: Rediscovering Women in History from the 17th Century to the Present*. New York: Pantheon Books. 1974. Pp. xxxvi, 183. \$7.95.
- SACHEVERELL, HENRY. *The Perils of False Brethren, Both in Church and State*. Reprint; Exeter: The Rota, University of Exeter. 1974. Pp. 48. \$3.00.
- WOODCOCK, GEORGE. *Who Killed the British Empire? An Inquest*. New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co. 1974. Pp. 356. \$10.00.

## FRANCE

- ALBERT-SAMUEL, COLETTE, et al. (eds.). *Bibliographie annuelle de l'histoire de France du cinquième siècle à 1945. Année 1973*. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique; Centre de Documentation Sciences Humaines. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1974. Pp. lxxvii, 692. 168 fr.
- BUTTERFIELD, HERBERT, et al. *A Short History of France from Early Times to 1972*. With contributions by SIR ERNEST BARKER et al. Ed. by J. HAMPDEN JACKSON. 2d ed., with new material by N. J. M. RICHARDSON; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 246. Cloth \$10.95, paper \$3.95. See rev. of 1st ed. (1959), *AHR*, 65 (1959-60): 961.
- LE ROY LADURIE, EMMANUEL. *The Peasants of Languedoc*. Tr. with an introd. by JOHN DAY. GEORGE HUPPERT, consulting ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 370. \$16.00. See rev. of French ed. (1966), *AHR*, 72 (1966-67): 596.
- NEWMAN, EDGAR LEON (ed.). *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History, March 14-15, 1974*. Las Cruces: New Mexico State University Press. 1974. Columns v, 497. \$12.00.
- SCHULKIND, EUGENE (ed. and introd.). *The Paris Commune of 1871: The View from the Left*. Writings of the Left. New York: Grove Press. 1974. Pp. 308. \$4.95.

## NORTHERN EUROPE

- POPPERWELL, RONALD G. *Norway*. Nations of the Modern World. New York: Praeger. 1972. Pp. 335. \$11.50.
- RONSDORF, CARL F. *Maximilian Bayer: Ein Wegbereiter zu Finnlands Unabhängigkeit*. Historial-

lisiä tutkimuksia, 88. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1973. Pp. 283.

*Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla kartasto* [Atlas of the Settlement in Finland in the 1560s]. Käsikirjoja 7. Forssa: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1973. Pp. 23, 10 maps.

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- BRISAUD, ANDRÉ. *The Nazi Secret Service*. Tr. from the French by MILTON WALDMAN. New York: W. W. Norton. 1974. Pp. 320. \$10.00.
- BRUNSCHWIG, HENRI. *Enlightenment and Romanticism in Eighteenth-Century Prussia*. Tr. by FRANK JELLINEK. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974. Pp. x, 323. \$15.00. See rev. of French ed. (1947), *AHR*, 53 (1947-48): 815.
- CITATI, PIETRO. *Goethe*. Tr. by RAYMOND ROSENTHAL. New York: Dial Press. 1974. Pp. xviii, 469. \$15.00.
- FISCHER-DIESKAU, DIETRICH. *Wagner und Nietzsche: Der Mystagoge und sein Abtrünniger*. [Stuttgart:] Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1974. Pp. 310. DM 32.
- FOUT, JOHN C. (comp.). *German History and Civilization, 1806-1914: A Bibliography of Scholarly Periodical Literature*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press. 1974. Pp. xix, 342. \$12.00.
- PRITTIE, TERENCE. *Willy Brandt: Portrait of a Statesman*. New York: Schocken Books. 1974. Pp. 356. \$10.50.
- RECHBERG-HEYDEGGER, BRIGITTE. *Ludwig Sigismund Ruhl (1794-1887): Leben und Werk*. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades des Fachbereichs Geschichtswissenschaften der Universität Giessen. Bad Hersfeld: the author. 1973. Pp. 218, 10 plates.
- TAPPOLET, CLAUDE. *La vie musicale à Genève au dix-neuvième siècle (1814-1918)*. Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève. Mémoires et documents, no. 45. Geneva: Alex. Jullien. 1972. Pp. 215, 30 fr. S.
- WÜEST, GUIDO. *Josef Burkard Leu (1808-1865): Propst im Hof und Professor der Theologie in Luzern. Ein "liberaler Geistlicher"*. Europäische Hochschulschriften, 3d ser., Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, vol. 30. Bern: Herbert Lang. 1974. Pp. 173.

## SOVIET UNION

- ANSCHER, EUGENE (ed. with an introd. and comments). *The American Image of Russia, 1775-1917*. New York: Frederick Ungar. 1974. Pp. xii, 259. \$9.50.
- CZARNECKI, JAN. *The Soviet Union, 1917-1967: An Annotated Bibliography of Soviet Semcentennial Publications in the Collection of the University of Miami Library at Coral Gables, Florida*. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 157. \$10.00.
- SILFEN, PAUL HARRISON. *The Influence of the Mongols on Russia: A Dimensional History*. Exposition-University Book. Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press. 1974. Pp. vii, 120. \$7.00.

## NEAR EAST

- DOBSON, CHRISTOPHER. *Black September: Its Short, Violent History*. New York: Macmillan. 1974. Pp. x, 179. \$8.95.

- IFRADSTVEIT, DANIEL. *Arab and Israeli Elite Perceptions*. Norwegian Foreign Policy Studies, no. 7. New York: Humanities Press, 1974. Pp. 147. \$9.50.
- LEWIS, GEOFFREY. *Modern Turkey*. Nations of the Modern World, 4th ed.; New York: Praeger, 1974. Pp. 255. \$11.50.
- SHIMONI, YAACOV, and LEVINE, EYATAR (eds.). *Political Dictionary of the Middle East in the 20th Century*. Supplement ed. by ITAMAR RABINOVICH and HAIM SHAKED. 2d ed.; New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co. 1974. Pp. 510. \$6.95.

## AFRICA

- AMIN, SAMIR. *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa*. Tr. from the French by FRANCIS MCDONAGH. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973. Pp. xviii, 298. \$11.95.
- CABRAL, AMILCAR. *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches*. Ed. by Africa Information Service. New York: Monthly Review Press, with Africa Information Service, 1973. Pp. 110. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$2.45.
- GEISS, IMANUEL. *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa*. Tr. by ANN KEEP. New York: Africana Publishing Co. 1974. Pp. xiv, 575. \$29.50. See rev. of German ed. (1968), *AHR*, 75 (1970): 1414.

## ASIA

- BISKUP, PETER (ed., with an introd.). *The New Guinea Memoirs of Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton*. Pacific History Ser. no. 7. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974. Pp. xiv, 161. \$13.50.
- COATES, AUSTIN. *Islands of the South*. New York: Pica Press; distrib. by Universe Books, New York, 1974. Pp. 200.
- COLLIER, JOHN and ELSIE. *China's Socialist Revolution*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973. Pp. 270. \$8.95.
- HAY, JOHN H., JR. *Tactical and Materiel Innovations*. Vietnam Studies. Washington: Department of the Army, 1974. Pp. ix, 197. \$2.20.
- HEISER, JOSEPH M., JR. *Logistic Support*. Vietnam Studies. Washington: Department of the Army, 1974. Pp. xvi, 273. \$2.75.
- HSIAO LIANG-IIN. *China's Foreign Trade Statistics, 1864-1949*. Harvard East Asian Monographs 56. Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1974. Pp. xvi, 297. \$9.00.
- IKE, NOBUTAKA. *Japan: The New Superstate*. Reprint; San Francisco: W. H. Freeman; distrib. by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1974. Pp. xi, 121. \$5.95.
- KARRYEV, A. K., et al. (eds.). *Ocherki istorii zemledeliia i agrarnykh otnoshenii v Turkmenistane (S drevneishikh vremen do prisоеdineniia k Rossii)* [Essays on the History of Agriculture and Agrarian Relations in Turkmenistan (From Earliest Times to the Union with Russia)]. Akademiia Nauk Turkmeniskoi SSR, Institut Istorii imeni Sh. Batoryova. Ashkabad: Izdatel'stvo "Ylym." 1971. Pp. 340.
- NAJITA, TETSUO. *Japan*. The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974. Pp. viii, 152. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

- ROGERS, BERNARD WILLIAM. *Cedar Falls-Junction City: A Turning Point*. Vietnam Studies. Washington: Department of the Army, 1974. Pp. ix, 172. \$2.00.
- SIH, PAUL K. T. (ed.). *Sun Yat-sen and China*. Asia in the Modern World Ser., no. 15. New York: St. John's University Press, 1974. Pp. x, 176.
- SIMA QIAN. *War-Lords*. Tr. with twelve other stories from his historical records by WILLIAM DOLBY and JOHN SCOTT. Edinburgh: Southside; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1974. Pp. 168. \$12.50.
- YEN, W. W. *East-West Kaleidoscope, 1877-1946: An Autobiography*. Asia in the Modern World Ser., no. 14, under the auspices of the Center of Asian Studies, St. John's University, New York. New York: St. John's University Press, 1974. Pp. xvi, 302.

## UNITED STATES

- ALDERMAN, CLIFFORD LINDSEY. *The War We Could Have Lost: The American Revolution*. New York: Four Winds Press, 1974. Pp. x, 224. \$6.95.
- ALTOBELLI, RICHARD J. *The Republic of the United States: An Analysis According to Machiavelli*. Westminister, Mass.: Basilican Press, 1974. Pp. 100. \$3.00.
- ANGELO, FRANK. *Yesterday's Detroit*. Seemann's Historic Cities Ser. no. 9. Miami: E. A. Seemann, 1974. Pp. 160. \$9.95.
- Barron's Guide to the Two-Year Colleges*. Vol. 1, *College Descriptions*. Comp. and ed. by the College Division of Barron's Educational Series, 5th ed.; Woodbury, N.Y.: Barron's Educational Series, 1974. Pp. xvii, 270. \$4.95.
- BEISNER, ROBERT L. *From the Old Diplomacy to the New, 1865-1900*. The Crowell American History Ser. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1975. Pp. xi, 162.
- BETTMANN, OTTO L. *The Good Old Days—They Were Terrible!* New York: Random House, 1974. Pp. xiii, 207. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$4.95.
- BILLARD, JULES B. (ed.). *The World of the American Indian*. The Story of Man Library. Washington: National Geographic Society, 1974. Pp. 399. \$9.95.
- BRYDON, NORMAN F. *The Passaic River: Past, Present, Future*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974. Pp. xix, 376. \$15.00.
- BUNTING, W. H. (selected and annotated). *Steamers, Schooners, Cutters, and Sloops: Marine Photographs of N. L. Stebbins Taken from 1884 to 1907*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, for the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1974. Pp. 126. \$12.50.
- BUSCH, NOEL F. *Winter Quarters: George Washington and the Continental Army at Valley Forge*. New York: Liveright, 1974. Pp. xiv, 206. \$7.95.
- CAMPBELL, LESLIE CAINE. *Two Hundred Years of Pharmacy in Mississippi*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1974. Pp. xv, 207. \$10.00.
- Catalogue of American Portraits in the New-York Historical Society*. Vol. 1, *A-L*; vol. 2, *M-Z*. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the New-York Historical Society, 1974. Pp. ix, 493; 494-964. \$50.00 the set.
- DAVIDSON, MARSHALL B. *Life in America*. In 2 vols. Bicentennial ed. with a new introd. by the author. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974. Pp. xv, 573; 503.

- DUBOFSKY, MELVYN. *Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865-1920*. The Crowell American History Ser. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1975. Pp. viii, 150.
- EIDELBERG, PAUL. *A Discourse on Statesmanship: The Design and Transformation of the American Polity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 472. \$16.00.
- EISENHOWER, MILTON S. *The President Is Calling*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1974. Pp. xxiii, 598. \$12.50.
- FEHRENBACH, T. R. *Comanches: The Destruction of a People*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. xvi, 557, xiv. \$12.50.
- FINK, GARY M., et al. (eds.). *Biographical Dictionary of American Labor Leaders*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 559. \$19.95.
- FLANAGAN, SUE. *Trailing the Longhorns: A Century Later*. Foreword by WAYNE GARD. Austin: Madrona Press. 1974. Pp. xix, 209. \$18.50.
- FRAZIER, THOMAS R. (ed.). *The Underside of American History: Other Readings*. Vol. 1: *To 1877*; vol. 2: *Since 1865*. 2d ed.; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1974. Pp. xi, 351; xi, 348. \$5.50 each.
- GARDNER, LLOYD C. (ed.). *American Foreign Policy, Present to Past: A Narrative with Readings and Documents*. Urgent Issues in American Society Ser. New York: Free Press. 1974. Pp. xviii, 366. \$10.00.
- GRANT, ELLSWORTH STRONG. *Yankee Dreamers and Doers*. Chester, Conn.: Pequot Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 269. \$9.95.
- GUTMAN, JUDITH MARA. *Is America Used Up?* New York: Bantam Books. 1973. Pp. 183. \$1.95.
- HAMMOND, JOHN H. *Jerome A. Moore: A Man of TCU*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 1974. Pp. 86. \$6.00.
- HARGROVE, ERWIN C. *The Power of the Modern Presidency*. Foreword by HAROLD D. LASSWELL. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 353. \$10.00.
- HAWKINS, HUGH (ed. and with an introd.). *Booker T. Washington and His Critics: Black Leadership in Crisis*. Problems in American Civilization. 2d ed.; Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath. 1974. Pp. xvi, 208. \$2.95.
- HENKE, WARREN A. (comp.). *Prairie Politics: Parties and Platforms in North Dakota, 1889-1914*. Occasional Publication no. 1. [Bismarck:] State Historical Society of North Dakota. 1974. Pp. ix, 220. \$5.00.
- HUFF, DAVID L., and DEARE, DIANA R., with the assistance of JAMES M. LUTZ. *Principal Interaction Fields of Texas Metropolitan Centers*. Urban and Regional Studies no. 1. Austin: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas. 1974. Pp. 41. \$4.00.
- JESSEE, DEAN C. (ed. and introd.). *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*. With a foreword by J. H. ADAMSON. The Mormon Heritage Ser., vol. 1. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, in collaboration with the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. 1974. Pp. xlv, 375.
- JOHNSON, ARTHUR M. (ed. and with introd. essays). *The American Economy: An Historical Introduction to the Problems of the 1970's*. Urgent Issues in American Society Ser. New York: Free Press. 1974. Pp. xix, 268. \$10.00.
- JOHNSON, OAKLEY C. *Marxism in United States History before the Russian Revolution (1876-1917)*. (AIMS Historical Ser. no. 9.) New York: Humanities Press, for A.I.M.S. 1974. Pp. ix, 196. \$8.50.
- JUDAH, J. STILLSON. *Hare Krishna and the Counter-culture*. Contemporary Religious Movements: A Wiley-Interscience Ser. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1974. Pp. xviii, 301. \$12.95.
- KETCHUM, RICHARD M. *Decisive Day: The Battle for Bunker Hill*. An expanded and fully illustrated ed. of *The Battle for Bunker Hill*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1974. Pp. xv, 282. \$10.00.
- KIM, HYUNG-CHAN, and PATTERSON, WAYNE (comps. and eds.). *The Koreans in America, 1882-1974: A Chronology & Fact Book*. Ethnic Chronology Ser., no. 16. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications. 1974. Pp. vii, 147. \$5.00.
- KISSINGER, HENRY A. *American Foreign Policy*. Expanded ed.; New York: W. W. Norton. 1974. Pp. 304. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$3.45.
- KOSTELANETZ, RICHARD. *The End of Intelligent Writing: Literary Politics in America*. [New York:] Sheed and Ward. 1974. Pp. xviii, 480. \$12.95.
- LEAVITT, RICHARD F. *Yesterday's New Hampshire*. With a foreword by SHERMAN ADAMS. Seemann's Historic States Ser. no. 2. Miami: E. A. Seemann. 1974. Pp. 159. \$9.95.
- LERNER, WILLIAM (prepared under the direction of). *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974*. 95th annual ed.; Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census. 1974. Pp. xx, 1028. Cloth \$10.20, paper \$6.85.
- LEVY, LEONARD W. *Against the Law: The Nixon Court and Criminal Justice*. New York: Harper and Row. 1974. Pp. xvi, 506. \$12.95.
- LINSCOTT, ELOISE HUBBARD (collected and ed.). *Folk Songs of Old New England*. With an introd. by JAMES M. CARPENTER. 2d ed.; [Hamden, Conn.]: Archon Books. 1962. Pp. xxiii, 344. \$12.00.
- MAPPE, ALF J., JR. *The Virginia Experiment: The Old Dominion's Role in the Making of America (1607-1781)*. 2d rev. ed.; La Salle, Ill.: Open Court. 1974. Pp. xi, 577. Cloth \$11.95, paper \$5.95.
- MARSHALL, RAY, et al. *Human Resource Development in Rural Texas*. Studies in Human Resource Development no. 1. Austin: Center for the Study of Human Resources and the Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas. 1974. Pp. xviii, 120. \$4.00.
- MCEACHERN, LEORA H., and WILLIAMS, ISABEL M. (eds.). *Wilmington-New Hanover Safety Committee Minutes, 1774-1776*. Introd. by LAWRENCE LEE. Wilmington, N.C.: Wilmington-New Hanover County American Revolution Bi-centennial Association. 1974. Pp. xxiv, 147.
- MCLEAN, MALCOLM D. (comp. and ed.). *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas*. Vol. 1, 1788-1822. The Texas Association. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 1974. Pp. lxxi, 566. \$20.00.
- MEISTER, RICHARD J. (ed. and with an introd.). *Race and Ethnicity in Modern America*. Problems in American Civilization. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath. 1974. Pp. xx, 198.
- O'SULLIVAN, JOHN, and MECKLER, ALAN M. (eds.). *The Draft and Its Enemies: A Documentary History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 289. \$10.00.
- PANCAKE, JOHN S. *Thomas Jefferson & Alexander Hamilton*. The Shapers of History. Woodbury,



- N.Y.: Barron's Educational Series. 1974. Pp. viii, 521. \$2.95.
- PATERSON, THOMAS G. (ed. and with an introd.). *The Origins of the Cold War. Problems in American Civilization*. 2d ed.; Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath. 1974. Pp. xx, 274. \$2.95.
- PECKHAM, HOWARD H. (ed.). *The Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution*. Clements Library Bicentennial Studies. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 176. \$7.50.
- PESSEN, EDWARD (ed. and with an introd.). *Three Centuries of Social Mobility in America*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath. 1974. Pp. xxii, 313.
- PFLUG, WARNER W. (comp. and ed.). *A Guide to the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs*. Wayne State University. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1974. Pp. 195. \$8.95.
- POST, DAN. *Cord: Without Tribute to Tradition. The L-29 Front-Drive Legend*. Arcadia, Calif.: Post-Era Books. [1974.] Pp. 219. \$20.00.
- RESEARCH AND POLICY COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. *Congressional Decision Making for National Security: A Statement on National Policy*. New York: Committee for Economic Development. 1974. Pp. 56. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.00.
- RESEARCH AND POLICY COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. *A New U.S. Farm Policy for Changing World Food Needs: A Statement on National Policy*. New York: Committee for Economic Development. 1974. Pp. 66. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.00.
- ROCHE, GEORGE C., III. *The Balancing Act: Quota Hiring in Higher Education*. La Salle, Ill.: Open Court. 1974. Pp. xii, 92. \$1.95.
- RUDERMAN, JEROME. *Jews in American History: A Teacher's Guide*. Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in celebration of the Bicentennial Observance of the United States of America. New York: KTAV Publishing House and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. 1974. Pp. 224. Cloth \$7.95, paper \$3.95.
- RUTSTEIN, NAT. "Go Watch TV!" *What and How Much Should Children Really Watch?* New York: Sheed and Ward. 1974. Pp. xiv, 213. \$6.95.
- SANDERS, CHARLES RICHARD. *The Cameron Plantation in Central North Carolina (1776-1973) and Its Founder, Richard Bennehan*. Durham, N.C.: the author. 1974. Pp. viii, 79. \$11.00.
- SCHEIBER, JANE L., and ELLIOTT, ROBERT C. (eds.). *In Search of the American Dream: A Reader for the Second Course by Newspaper, University Extension, University of California, San Diego*. Meridian Book. New York: New American Library. 1974. Pp. viii, 444. \$4.50.
- SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. *Astronautics and Aeronautics, 1972: Chronology of Science, Technology, and Policy*. Sponsored by NASA Historical Office. Washington: Scientific and Technical Information Office, National Aeronautics and Space Administration. 1974. Pp. ix, 580. \$4.85.
- SHEED, WILFRID. *Three Mobs: Labor, Church and Mafia*. New York: Sheed and Ward. 1974. Pp. 157. \$6.95.
- SIBLEY, ELBRIDGE. *Social Science Research Council: The First Fifty Years*. New York: Social Science Research Council. 1974. Pp. vii, 141. \$3.00.
- SIMONSON, HAROLD P. *Jonathan Edwards: Theologian of the Heart*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1974. Pp. 174. \$6.50.
- SMILEY, NIXON. *Yesterday's Florida*. Seemann's Historic States Ser. no. 1. Miami: E. A. Seemann. 1974. Pp. 256. \$12.95.
- SMITH, EDGAR NEWBOLD. *American Naval Broadside: A Collection of Early Naval Prints (1745-1815)*. Foreword by M. V. BREWINGTON. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum; New York: Clarkson N. Potter. 1974. Pp. xix, 225. \$35.00.
- SMITH, HELEN KREBS. *The Presumptuous Dreamers: A Sociological History of the Life and Times of Abigail Scott Duniway (1834-1915)*. Vol. 1 (1834-1871). Lake Oswego, Ore.: Smith, Smith and Smith. 1974. Pp. xiii, 303. Cloth \$7.95, paper \$4.95.
- SMITH, MYRON J., JR. *The American Navy, 1918-1941: A Bibliography*. American Naval Bibliography, vol. 5. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 429. \$15.00.
- SOCHEH, JUNE. *Herstory: A Woman's View of American History*. New York: Alfred Publishing Co. 1974. Pp. xiii, 448. \$10.00.
- TERRELL, JOHN UPTON, and TERRELL, DONNA M. *Indian Women of the Western Morning: Their Life in Early America*. New York: Dial Press. 1974. Pp. 214. \$8.95.
- UMINSKI, SIGMUND H. *Poland Discovers America. The Poles in the Americas*, vol. 1. New York: Polish Publication Society of America. 1972. Pp. xiii, 117. \$4.50.
- UMINSKI, SIGMUND H. *The Polish Pioneers in Virginia. The Poles in the Americas*, vol. 2. New York: Polish Publication Society of America. 1974. Pp. xxiii, 139. \$5.50.
- VENT, MYRON H. *South Manitou Island: From Pioneer Settlement to National Park*. Nassau, Del.: Manitou Publications. 1973. Pp. xiii, 105. \$2.00 postpaid.
- WALETT, FRANCIS G. (ed.). *The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman, 1703-1782*. 1st part, 3 vols. in 1, 1719-1755. With a foreword by CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society; distrib. by University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville. 1974. Pp. xv, 316. \$19.50.
- WATSON, ALDREN A. *Country Furniture*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1974. Pp. 274. \$7.50.
- WESTMORELAND, GUY T., JR. *An Annotated Guide to Basic Reference Books on the Black American Experience*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources. 1974. Pp. x, 98. \$12.50.
- WHALEN, RICHARD J. *Taking Sides: A Personal View of America from Kennedy to Nixon to Kennedy*. With an introd. by ROBERT D. NOVAK. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1974. Pp. xvi, 320. \$8.95.
- WILLIAMS, KENNY J. *In the City of Men: Another Story of Chicago*. Nashville, Tenn.: Townsend Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 483. \$12.50.
- WINDHORN, STAN, and LANGLEY, WRIGHT. *Yesterday's Florida Keys*. Seemann's Historic Cities Ser. no. 12. Miami: E. A. Seemann. 1974. Pp. 128. \$7.95.
- WOLF, JOHN QUINCY. *Life in the Leatherwoods*. Ed., with an afterword by JOHN QUINCY WOLF, JR. Introd. and notes by F. JACK HURLEY. [Memphis:] Memphis State University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 159. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$2.50.
- WOOD, FORREST G. *The Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*. The Crowell American History Ser. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1975. Pp. vii, 113.



## LATIN AMERICA

- CASSELL, JONATHAN F. *Lacandon Adventure (Last of the Mayas)*. San Antonio: Naylor Co. 1974. Pp. xiv, 219. \$8.95.
- COLLIER, SIMON. *From Cortés to Castro: An Introduction to the History of Latin America, 1492-1973*. New York: Macmillan. 1974. Pp. xii, 429. \$12.95.
- Elizalde, *El Doctor Rufino de, y su época vista a través de su archivo*. Vols. 3 and 4. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Diego Luis Molinari." Documento para la historia argentina, 44 and 45. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. 1973; 1974. Pp. 375; 467.
- GALVIS SALAZAR, FERNANDO. *Don Marco Fidel Suárez*. Biblioteca de historia nacional, 126. Bogotá: Editorial Kelly. 1974. Pp. 485.
- HARRIS, LOUIS K., and ALBA, VICTOR. *The Political Culture and Behavior of Latin America*. [Kent, Ohio:] Kent State University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 221. Cloth \$9.00, paper \$4.50.
- MARTÍN, LUIS. *The Kingdom of the Sun: A Short History of Peru*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1974. Pp. xiii, 288. \$12.50.
- MARTÍNEZ DELGADO, LUIS, and ORTIZ, SERGIO ELÍAS (comps.). *Epistolario y documentos relacionados con el General José María Obando*. Vol. 3. Biblioteca de historia nacional, vol. 125. Bogotá: Editorial Kelly. 1973. Pp. 308.
- NICHOLSON, JOE, JR. *Inside Cuba*. New York: Sheed and Ward. 1974. Pp. xii, 235. \$8.95.
- URIBE VARGAS, DIEGO. *Colombia y la diplomacia secreta*. Introd. by ROBERTO LIÉVANO. Colección de bolsilibros de la Academia de Historia, 25. Bogotá: Editorial Kelly. 1973. Pp. 247.

---

# The American Historical Association

---

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889

Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

President: Gordon Wright, *Stanford University*

President-elect: Richard B. Morris, *Columbia University*

Executive Director: Mack Thompson

Assistant Executive Director: Eleanor F. Straub

**MEMBERSHIP:** Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership is about 16,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

**MEETINGS:** The Association's annual meeting takes place on December 28–30. The meeting in 1975 will be held in Atlanta. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

**PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES:** The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report*, the *AHA Newsletter*, a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects, and bibliographical and other volumes. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers many other services, including publication of the *Employment Information Bulletin* four times a year. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

**PRIZES:** The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$300 awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *Troyer Steele Anderson Prize* awarded every ten years to the person whom the Council of the Association considers to have made the most outstanding contribution to the advancement of the purposes of the Association during the preceding ten years (next award, 1980). The *George Louis Beer Prize* of \$300 awarded annually for a first book

on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* of \$1,000 given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Canadian Historical Association, of \$1,000 awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries (next award, 1976). The *John H. Dunning Prize* of \$300 awarded in the even-numbered years for a book on any subject relating to American history. The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History* of \$500 awarded in the odd-numbered years. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years to that Latin American who has published the most outstanding book in Latin American history during the preceding five years (next award, 1976). The *Howard R. Marraro Prize* in Italian history awarded annually and carrying a cash award of \$500. The *Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years for the best work in modern British and Commonwealth history (next award, 1976). The *Watumull Prize* of \$1,000 awarded in the even-numbered years for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States.

**DUES:** For incomes over \$30,000, \$40.00 annually; \$20,000–29,999, \$35.00; \$15,000–19,999, \$30.00; \$10,000–14,999, \$20.00; below \$10,000 and joint memberships, \$10.00; life \$650. Members receive the *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, the program of the annual meeting, and the *Annual Report* on request.

**CORRESPONDENCE:** Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

---

# The American Historical Review

---

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. There are two categories of subscription:

CLASS I: *American Historical Review* only, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$25.00, foreign \$27.00.

CLASS II: *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, the program of the annual meeting of the Association, and the *Annual Report*, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$30.00, foreign \$32.00.

Single copies of the current issue and back issues in and subsequent to volume 76 (1971) can be ordered from the Membership Secretary of the Association at \$7.00 per copy. Issues prior to volume 76 should be ordered from Kraus Reprint Corporation, Route 100, Millwood, N.Y. 10546.

Correspondence regarding contributions to the *American Historical Review* and books for review should be sent to the Editor, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Unsolicited book reviews or review articles are not accepted; a statement concerning reviewing policy will be found in the issue for December 1970, vol. 75, pp. 1889-91. Preliminary inquiries concerning articles are not necessary, though authors may find them useful. Attention is urged, however, to a statement concerning the kinds of articles the *AHR* ordinarily will and will not publish; it appears in the issue for October 1970, vol. 75, pp. 1577-80. The entire text, including footnotes, of manuscripts submitted for publication must be prepared in double-spaced typescript, with generous margins to allow for copyediting. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. The editors of the *AHR* are the final arbiters of length, grammar, usage, and the laws of libel; articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interests of clarity and economy of expression, but such changes are not made without consultation with authors. There is no official style sheet for the *American Historical Review*, but a convenient general guide is *A Manual of Style*, published by the University of Chicago Press.

2(a)

# *XIV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES*

August 22-29, 1975

Fairmont Hotel

San Francisco, California

## *First Section: Grand Themes of Study*

Science historique et société. Les Droits de l'homme. Les Révolutions. Les Minorités. Les Migrations. Traditions et innovations en Asie et en Afrique.

## *Second Section: Problems of Methodology*

Événement, évolution et structure dans l'Histoire. Les problèmes des "jugements de valeur" dans les sciences historiques. L'historiographie comme science historique. L'historien à la recherche de sa documentation. Méthodes de l'étude de l'homme dans son environnement. Publication de documents et diffusion des sources.

## *Third Section: History by Chronological Periods*

Antiquity: Centres et Périphéries de la Civilisation Antique; Types of Societies in Antiquity.

Middle Ages: Les Sociétés Nomades; Rencontres de Civilisations en Europe vers 1300.

Modern History: Nations et Etats (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle); Aspects Economiques des Sociétés en Développement Industriel (XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle).

Contemporary History: L'Europe et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique; Le Problème de la Démocratie dans la structure interne des Partis et Mouvements Politiques au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle; Les Mouvements Ouvriers au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle devant Le Problème: Révolution ou Réforme? Idées et Réalités Politiques Au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle.

## *Fourth Section: International Affiliated Organizations and Internal Commissions*

Association internationale d'histoire du droit et des institutions. Commission internationale d'histoire des villes. Commission internationale d'histoire économique. Fédération internationale des sociétés et instituts pour l'étude de la Renaissance.

The Congress is being held under the auspices of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences: Academician E. M. Zhukov (USSR), President; Professor Michel Francois (France), Secretary-General. The American Historical Association is the host. The president of the Congress is Professor Boyd C. Shafer, University of Arizona.

*For further information and detailed program, write:*

The XIV International Congress of Historical Sciences  
Richard Schlatter, Executive Director  
Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, N.J. 08903

## From The Free Press

### EAGLE AND SWORD

**The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783-1811**

Richard H. Kohn, Rutgers University

From the colonial prejudice against standing armies to the founding of the Military Academy at West Point, this fascinating work traces the shaping of the American military establishment. Kohn shows the influence of military power on American political and social history.

448 pages \$12.95

### THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1766-1775

Bernhard Knollenberg

A detailed account of the events that outraged American advocates of self-government: the Stamp Act of 1765, the Townshend Act Duties of 1767, the Tea Act of 1773, the Boston Massacre, and trade restrictions. The author leads the reader through the maze of political intrigue preceding the outbreak of the American Revolution.

480 pages \$15.00

### CHINA IN DISINTEGRATION

**The Republican Era in Chinese History, 1912-1949**

James E. Sheridan, Northwestern University

The first full study of the republican years in China. The concept of national integration provides the unifying theme. There are complete treatments of the Revolution of 1911, the failure of the Kuomintang to reintegrate China, and the most thorough discussion of warlords and warlordism available in English.

320 pages \$10.95

### THE FALL OF IMPERIAL CHINA

Frederic Wakeman, Jr., University of California, Berkeley

A colorfully written, detailed, and analytical *social* history of change in China, from the sixteenth century to the twentieth. This book traces the development of the imperial state from the viewpoint of three social classes: peasants, merchants, and gentry.

320 pages \$9.95

**THE FREE PRESS**

A DIVISION OF MACMILLAN PUBLISHING CO., INC.  
100D Brown Street, Riverside, New Jersey 08075



## NEW FROM CALIFORNIA

### **Resistance and Revolution in China**

The Communists and the Second United Front

**Tetsuya Kataoka**

Mr. Kataoka shows that the "Maoist strategy" of peasant revolution had failed in Kiangsi. The second united front was, therefore, a return to urban strategy designed to force Chiang Kai-shek into war with Japan so that the Communists could resume revolutionary expansion. 352 pages, \$16.50

### **Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa**

Changing Patterns of International Trade  
to the Late Nineteenth Century

**Edward A. Alpers**

Encompassing a vast region that includes southern Tanzania, northern Mozambique, Malawi, and the Swahili coast, this history presents a coherent picture of a complex international trade system in East Central Africa. 320 pages, \$15.00

### **The Formation of a Modern Labor Force**

Upper Silesia, 1865-1974

**Lawrence Schofer**

One of the few reliable and detailed studies of the formation of an industrial labor force, this book documents the crucial half-century in Upper Silesia, a principal industrial region of Germany. 256 pages, \$12.50

*Now in paperback—*

### **Sixteenth Century North America**

The Land and People as Seen by Europeans

**Carl Ortwin Sauer**

"Sauer's . . . pages capture some of the wonder and delight with which Europeans first experienced the environment he describes."

*—American Anthropologist*

332 pages, \$3.85



### **The California Gold Rush**

**John Walton Caughey**

With vignettes by W. R. Cameron

"Of tales by and about Forty-niners we have a whole library; but until now no well-rounded study of the California Gold Rush." *—Saturday Review* 340 pages, \$3.95

At bookstores



**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS**  
**BERKELEY 94720**

6(a)

## Justice Accused

*Antislavery and the Judicial Process*

Robert Cover

"A fascinating, informative, and closely-reasoned study. To his expert grasp of legal procedures and technicalities, Robert Cover brings a remarkably thorough knowledge of the literature on slavery. The result is interdisciplinary history at its best—an indispensable work for legal philosophers as well as for American historians."—David Brion Davis \$15.00



## The Duke of Newcastle

Reed Browning

Although the duke of Newcastle held important offices under the crown almost without interruption from 1717 to 1766, this is the first full-length biography covering both his private and public lives. \$20.00

## Frederick the Great and His Officials

Hubert C. Johnson

Based on new material found in the archives of the old Prussian state, this innovative study offers an exciting interpretation of an enigmatic ruler and his state. \$17.50

## U Nu—Saturday's Son

U Nu

Translated by U Law Yone

Edited by U Kyaw Win

With amazing frankness, one of the best-known political leaders of postwar Burma recounts the story of his personal and public life. Written with grace and style, it is a moving self-portrait of an extraordinary human being and his place in recent history. \$15.00

## From Radicalism to Socialism

*Men and Ideas in the Formation of Fabian Socialist Doctrines, 1881-1889*

Willard Wolfe

The evolution of modern English Socialism from nineteenth-century Radicalism is examined in detail. Its progress is described in terms of five categories of political and social creeds—Anarchism, Positivism, Secularism, Ethical Culture, and Christian Humanitarianism. \$17.50

---

Also available

Winner of the 1974 Bolton Prize

---

## Flood Tide of Empire

*Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819*

Warren L. Cook

"This is a definitive, informative, and valuable study that all Americans interested in the development of the West should find edifying."—Louis B. Wright \$19.50

Yale University Press  
New Haven and London



## *Leader of the great adventure*

Captain John Smith, the bold leader and swashbuckling adventurer, is well known; this new interpretive biography explores another dimension of his extraordinary career. Alden Vaughan argues that Smith's energy and ambition, his vision and misconceptions, his successes and failures all mirrored those of

his age and offer important insights into the beginnings of Britain's imperial adventure in the New World.

"By examining the interaction of a vigorous personality and an exciting environment, Vaughn throws light on the man and on his time."

—Oscar Handlin



# AMERICAN GENESIS

*Captain John Smith and the  
Founding of Virginia*

ALDEN VAUGHAN

Illustrated, \$6.95

*Little, Brown*



# They Fought Back

## Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto

BER MARK

Translated by Gershon Freidlin

*Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto* is the harrowing story of months of struggle against incredible odds, and of the heroism of Jewish resistance fighters in the face of impending destruction. It is the most detailed, exhaustive account of the Jews' last stand in Warsaw that we have to date. Through this vivid narrative, we see the rebellion carried from house to house over the streets and rooftops and in the bunkers and sewers of the burning Ghetto. We see the moods, strategies, and responses to the Uprising on both the Jewish and Nazi sides. Ber Mark was a founder of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

\$6.95 hardcover/Just Published

## They Fought Back

**The Story of Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe**

Edited and Translated by Yuri Suhl

With 26 Illustrations

Here is hitherto unavailable evidence that a Jewish resistance group existed in almost every ghetto and concentration camp, active in sabotage, and in many instances carrying out successful armed revolts. With narratives of unparalleled drama, this volume gives a new view of a people who fought back under unimaginable difficulties and who, in agony and honor, wrote a heroic testament of life.

"Read Yuri Suhl's book and you will never again ask why they went to the slaughter like sheep. . . . No one came to the aid of the Jews. They fought their own battle. They drew their courage from within themselves."

—Elie Wiesel

"A profoundly stirring book."

—Saul Bellow

\$4.95 paperback/Just Published

## Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto

**The Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum**

Edited and Translated by Jacob Sloan

A day-by-day chronicle of the slaughter of half a million Jews, collected and preserved by Emmanuel Ringelblum to give posterity an accurate record of this human tragedy. The details of Ghetto life, from the early days—when life had a thin veneer of normality—to the end and annihilation are documented in Ringelblum's moving account.

\$4.50 paperback

## The Holocaust

**The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945**

NORA LEVIN

This definitive book on the subject describes Hitler's rise to power, the creation of the terror-state, the political and psychological context of the times, and the previously neglected record of significant Jewish resistance.

"This is the way history should be written—carefully planned, painstakingly researched, written with clarity, and documented."

—*Saturday Review*

\$6.95 paperback

## Hannah Senesh

**Her Life and Diary**

HANNAH SENESH

Introduction by Abba Eban

Israel's national heroine, who volunteered (although she was safe in Palestine) for a mission to help rescue Jews in her native Hungary. "She bequeathes to her survivors, especially the youth among them, the lesson of inescapable responsibility. . . . All the definitions of giant courage come together in her life."

—Abba Eban

\$2.75 paperback/\$6.95 hardcover



**SCHOCKEN BOOKS**

200 Madison Avenue, New York 10016

Announcing —

# New Editions of Two Classic Histories

For a complimentary examination copy or further information, please write to:

**St. Martin's Press**

P.O. Box 5352  
New York, N.Y. 10017

## A History of Greece

To the Death of Alexander the Great  
Fourth Edition

**J. B. Bury and Russell Meiggs**

Bury's famous text has been thoroughly revised in the light of new evidence, though great care has been taken to preserve the basic character of his work and no change has been made in the scale of his *History*.

### New in the Fourth Edition:

- extensive revisions in the text, including a completely rewritten first chapter
- new and expanded notes and bibliographies
- numerous new photographs
- new and redrawn maps—including a beautiful fold-out map at the end of the book
- completely redesigned format — a larger page and a more readable typeface

This definitive history of Greece is now more indispensable than ever.

February 1975 612 pages  
\$12.95 (tentative), clothbound

## A History of Rome

Down to the reign of Constantine  
Third Edition

**M. Cary and H. H. Scullard**

The first thorough revision of Cary's classic text, this third edition takes into account the great quantity of new material — archaeological and epigraphic — that has been discovered since 1930.

### New in the Third Edition:

- fresh scrutiny of all aspects of Roman life
- new and revised illustrations and maps
- the most up-to-date bibliographies available
- vast enlargement of the *Notes*
- a totally redesigned format

The new *History of Rome* is a handsome, highly readable edition of a book that has been a standard for over forty years.

July 1975 640 pages  
\$12.95 (tentative), clothbound



# Fathers and Children

Andrew Jackson and the  
Subjugation of the American Indian

by Michael Paul Rogin

How Jackson's frustrated paternalism—how Jacksonian Democracy itself—led naturally to the expulsion of the Indians from the southeastern United States, then to a national policy of destruction and the tragedy of the American Indian, and, ultimately, to the defeat of Jackson's own largest hopes for his country.

"The most brilliant psychoanalytic study of an American president yet published... Exciting... Altogether extraordinary."—Fawn M. Brodie

Michael Paul Rogin won the Albert P. Beveridge Award for his *McCarthy and The Intellectuals*.

448 pages, illustrated. \$13.95 • Alfred • A • Knopf



# The Future of Democracy in Latin America

by Frank Tannenbaum

Edited and with an introduction by  
Joseph Maier and Richard W. Weatherhead

The most important essays by the country's most important scholar in the field of Latin American studies—the best from the thirty brilliantly productive years before his death in 1969.

The editors, both distinguished scholars and former students of Frank Tannenbaum's, provide a biographical essay by way of an Introduction.

256 pages, \$10 • Alfred • A • Knopf



# *The Two Rosetos*

BY CARLA BIANCO

The history of Italian traditions and folkways as they have been transplanted to the new world is traced in this unusual study of an Italian-American enclave in Pennsylvania and its parent village in southern Italy. An enlightening inquiry into acculturation and social change.

256 pages, photos

\$10.00



## THE ANNALS OF LABOUR

*Autobiographies of British  
Working Class People,  
1820-1920*

EDITED BY JOHN BURNETT

This book assembles twenty-seven extracts from autobiographies and diaries of working people—wheelwrights, stone masons, miners, munitions workers, butlers and kitchen maids, carpenters, potters, shop assistants and others. It offers valuable and previously neglected primary source material for the social history of the period.

368 pages

\$10.95



INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

10TH & MORTON STREETS, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

# New from

## **JONATHAN SEWALL**

Odyssey of an American Loyalist

### **CAROL BERKIN**

This award-winning study of Jonathan Sewall, an aristocratic Boston loyalist, tells the compelling story of the passions and paradoxes of a country in the throes of Revolution. Carol Berkin's lively narrative traces the political career of Sewall to his ultimately tragic end in Canada. \$10.95

## **PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE SECRETARIES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

**ANDREW W. CORDIER and WILDER FOOTE, Editors**

### **Volume 4: Dag Hammarskjöld, 1958-1960**

Hammarskjöld's unanimous reelection, his settlement of the Lebanon-Jordan affair, and his attempts to promote a lasting peace in Indochina are among the events recounted here through documentary and press materials and the editors' commentaries. \$22.50

### **Volume 5: Dag Hammarskjöld, 1960-1961**

This volume presents the documented story of the United Nations operation in the Congo and the Soviet challenge to the Secretary-General's place in world affairs to the time of Hammarskjöld's death. \$27.50

## **THE MIND OF AMERICA, 1820-1860**

### **RUSH WELTER**

An exciting departure from traditional historiography, this new book develops a portrait of the American character of the "Middle Period." The emphasis here is on ephemeral documents—campaign broadsides, for example—which give a clearer picture of the common man than do the writings of men we now class as intellectuals. \$14.95

## **SCOTT NEARING: APOSTLE OF AMERICAN RADICALISM**

### **STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD**

This first biography of Scott Nearing—orator, pamphleteer, and author—reveals a man who reflected the radical currents in the United States from Progressivism at the turn of the century to the rise of the Communist Party in the 1930s. \$10.95



**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Address for orders: 136 South Broadway, Irvington, New York 10533

# Columbia

## A GUIDE TO ORIENTAL CLASSICS

Second Edition

**WM. THEODORE DE BARY and AINSIE T. EMBREE,**  
Editors

A decade after its initial publication, this useful guide to the classics of four Asian traditions has been significantly revised. Major cultural works from the Islamic, Indian, Chinese, and Japanese traditions, ranging from history, philosophy, and religion to poetry, drama, and fiction are included in this bibliographic guide.

**Companions to Asian Studies**  
cloth, \$9.00; paper, \$3.50

## THE UNFOLDING OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM

**WM. THEODORE DE BARY AND THE CONFERENCE  
ON 17th-CENTURY CHINESE THOUGHT, Editors**

The fourteen essays gathered here trace the development of Neo-Confucianism in 17th-century China under the late Ming and during the period of transition to the Ch'ing. A valuable source for scholars of Chinese philosophy and a useful introduction to students of the seventeenth century.

**Studies in Oriental Culture 10**  
cloth, \$20.00; paper, \$9.00

## FAMINE IN RUSSIA 1891-1892

**RICHARD G. ROBBINS, JR.**

This full-scale assessment of the Russian famine of 1891-92 not only modifies some of the commonly accepted ideas about the famine, but it also provides an excellent narrative of the strengths and weaknesses of Russia at the beginning of the revolutionary era.

**Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University**  
\$15.00

## PALACE AND POLITICS IN PREWAR JAPAN

**DAVID ANSON TITUS**

From 1868 to 1945, Japanese political controversies were not resolved in the public forum but in corridors leading to the walled and moated imperial castle. Titus analyzes the palace as the key institution relating the emperor to the political process. A Clark F. Ansley Award winner.

**Studies of the East Asian Institute**  
\$20.00



**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Address for orders: 136 South Broadway, Irvington, New York 10533

## The University of MINNESOTA Press

**THE MYTHICAL WORLD OF NAZI WAR PROPAGANDA,  
1939-1944****Jay W. Baird**

Based in part on captured German archives and on interviews with leading figures in Goebbels's propaganda corps, this revealing account presents the theory that the content and handling of Nazi ideology and propaganda were based on a mystical, irrational body of doctrine. 13 illus. \$15.00

**HITLER AND HIS GENERALS:***The Hidden Crisis, January-June 1938***Harold C. Deutsch**

"An historian's fascinating reconstruction of Hitler's capture of unchallenged power over the Army by virtue of his purge of two powerful potential opponents [Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg and Colonel General Baron Werner von Fritsch] . . . Based on new evidence."—*Foreign Affairs*. 17 illus. \$15.00

**LETTERS FROM THE PROMISED LAND:***Swedes in America, 1840-1914*Edited by **H. Arnold Barton**

Firsthand accounts by Swedish immigrants provide a graphic overview of the great migration to America, with background commentary. 34 illus. \$16.50

**MAINSPRINGS OF INDIAN AND PAKISTANI  
FOREIGN POLICIES****S.M. Burke**

"The author, ex-High Commissioner for Pakistan and judge in the Indian Civil Service, is impartial but unsparing in his critical analysis of the failure of both Indian and Pakistani policy."—*Foreign Affairs*. \$13.50

**THE FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC****FREEDOM: *Government and Enterprise in the Age of Washington*****E.A.J. Johnson**

"A marvelously detailed and many-sided analysis of the ways in which Americans both perceived and responded to the central issues of what used to be called political economy."—*Reviews in American History*. \$13.50

The University of MINNESOTA Press

Minneapolis 55455



# HISTORY

## FROM THESE BEGINNINGS

**A Biographical Approach  
to American History**

**RODERICK NASH**

Available in a one- or two-volume edition, this book weaves the story of the American experience around the revealing lives of thirteen significant participants. Volume I and Volume II — Each: 320 pp.; \$3.95/paper. 1974. Complete work: 548 pp.; \$6.95/paper. 1973. Instructor's Manual.

## A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WEST

**JOSEPH A. STOUT, JR. and  
ODIE B. FAULK**

Emphasizing the Spanish, Indian, and Anglo-American influences that have shaped the American West, this concise yet comprehensive survey is the definitive work on Hispanic and Indian characteristics of the region. 325 pp.; \$4.95/paper. July 1974.

## THE URBAN WILDERNESS

**A History of the American City**

**SAM BASS WARNER, JR.**

"One of the most important general studies in urban history yet published — an imaginative use of history to foster understanding of the troubled, urbanized society in which we live." — *American Historical Review*/303 pp.; \$5.95/paper; \$12.50/cloth. 1972.

## THE AMERICAN NATION

**A History of the United States  
Third Edition**

**JOHN A. GARRATY**

Thoroughly updated, the Third Edition of this widely acclaimed survey text is enhanced by numerous changes in textual material and general approach which increase contemporary interest and teachability. While retaining those outstanding features that have given the book its wide appeal — authoritative scholarship, eminently readable prose style, inspired use of biographical elements, and smooth integration of text and illustrations, the Third Edition of this text includes important new material. Available in one volume or two. Complete work: 936 pp.; \$13.95/cloth. Volume I: To 1877 and Volume II: Since 1865 — Each: 490 pp.; \$7.95/paper. January 1975. Instructor's Manual by Roger Davis. Test Bank. Student's Review Manual by Ellen H. Myers in two volumes: Each \$2.95/paper.

## HISTORICAL VIEWPOINTS

**Notable Articles from American Heritage  
Second Edition**

**JOHN A. GARRATY, Editor**

A valuable supplement to THE AMERICAN NATION or any introductory text, this revision features new material on the twentieth century as well as greater emphasis on social history, on women, and on blacks. Volume I: To 1877 — 357 pp.; \$5.95/paper. Volume II: Since 1865 — 375 pp.; \$5.95/paper.

## WESTERN CIVILIZATION

**A New Second Edition In Two Volumes**

**WILLIAM L. LANGER, JOHN W. EADIE,**

**DENO J. GEANAKOPOLOS, J. H. HEXTER, and RICHARD PIPES**

Extensively rewritten and streamlined by four prominent historians, the **paperbound** Second Edition provides a concise and straightforward survey of the history of Western civilization. Volume I: Pre-history to the Peace of Utrecht: 526 pp.; \$7.95/paper; Volume II: The Expansion of Empire to Europe in the Modern World: 485 pp.; \$7.95/paper. January 1975. Test Items.



# HARPER & ROW

10 East 53d Street, New York 10022

---

# AMERICA'S

*Under the Editorship of* **HAROLD M. HYMAN**

---

**E**

ach volume in this new series brings history to life by examining how and why, in a crucial situation a certain policy was adopted while others were rejected: What influence did contemporary opinion, administrative structures and budgetary factors have in shaping crucial decisions? What influence did the constitution or tradition have? On what information did men base their decisions? Once a decision was made, how did the decision-maker enforce it? What attitudes prevailed toward nationality, race, region or sex and how did these attitudes modify courses of action?

Appropriate source documents illustrating alternative choices the author believes were actually before the decision-makers comprise the second part of each volume. A final section contains an annotated bibliography.

The first thirteen titles in this series of brief paperbacks will be ready in April, 1975.

**THE FRUITS OF VICTORY: Alternatives in Restoring the Union, 1865-1877**

Michael Les Benedict, *Ohio State University*

**THE DECISION TO RELOCATE THE JAPANESE AMERICANS**

Roger Daniels, *State University College, Fredonia, N.Y.*

**THE AGE OF ASPHALT: The Automobile, The Freeway, And The Condition of Metropolitan America**

Richard O. Davies, *Northern Arizona University*

**THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION AND CHINA, 1945-1949**

Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*

---

# ALTERNATIVES

## Inquiries into Public Policy Decisions

*William P. Hobby Professor of History, Rice University*

---

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW AND ANTHONY BURNS: A Problem  
In Law Enforcement

Jane H. and William H. Pease, *University of Maine*

THE DECISION FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

J. R. Pole, *Cambridge University*

MADISON'S ALTERNATIVES: The Jeffersonian Republicans And The  
Coming of War, 1805-1812

Robert A. Rutland, *University of Virginia*

JOHN WINTHROP'S DECISION FOR AMERICA: 1629

Darrett B. Rutman, *University of New Hampshire*

ONE HALF THE PEOPLE: The Fight For Woman Suffrage

Anne F. and Andrew M. Scott, *Duke University*

HERBERT HOOVER AT THE ONSET OF THE  
GREAT DEPRESSION, 1929-1930

Robert Sobel, *Hofstra University*

YORKTOWN: Campaign of Strategic Options

Theodore Thayer, *Rutgers University*

LINCOLN'S DECISION FOR EMANCIPATION

Hans L. Trefousse, *Brooklyn College*

THE ASSAULT ON INDIAN TRIBALISM: The General Allotment Law  
(Dawes Act) of 1887

Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Smithsonian Institution*

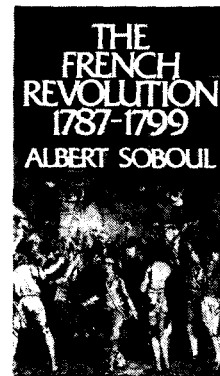
# Lippincott

J.B. Lippincott Company • Division of Higher Education  
East Washington Square • Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

# HISTORY FOR THE 70'S

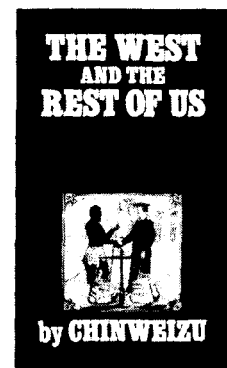
## *The French Revolution, 1787-1799*

*From the Storming of the Bastille to Napoleon* by ALBERT SOBOUL. Translated by ALAN FORREST and COLIN JONES. A striking new interpretation of the French Revolution by one of France's leading contemporary historians, author of the monumental study *The Sans-Culottes*. Soboul places the events of the Revolution within the broader framework of the social and economic processes of the time, including the American Revolution, and shows how they foreshadowed the future, not only in France but throughout the world. Paperbound \$5.95; also in cloth \$17.95



## **The West and the Rest of Us**

*White Predators, Black Slavers and the African Elite* by CHINWEIZU. An African scholar examines what really happened to the world under Western expansion and how the predatory nature of that expansion created today's global economic crisis. Concentrating on the politics of resources, Chinweizu shows how the Euro-African connection worked: the complicity of African slavers, the creation of the myth of racism, the mechanics of impoverishment, the compliance of the African elite. "A dramatic and devastating account." — NOAM CHOMSKY. "Hard-hitting ... refreshingly free of standard ideological attitudes." — STANLEY DIAMOND. Paperbound \$4.95; also in cloth \$15.00



Now at your bookstore   
**Vintage Books**  
 a division of Random House

## JEFFERSON'S LOUISIANA

*Politics and the Clash of  
Legal Traditions*

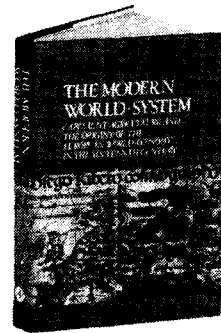
**George Dargo**

The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 brought the new American nation into contact with the largely French population of the lower Mississippi basin. Thomas Jefferson, reflecting contemporary American opinion, did not believe that the United States could incorporate Lower Louisiana into the Union as an independent state until the very character of the people and the institutional foundation of their culture had been thoroughly Americanized. The pivotal issue that came to symbolize this conflict was the struggle between Louisiana civil law and Anglo-American common law.

Which system of law would prevail in a distant and strategically vulnerable territory of the United States? Mr. Dargo shows how this important question was partially resolved by events outside the strict confines of legal controversy. The book attempts to reconnect legal history and general history, for its major contention is that the Louisiana Digest of 1808 was as much a political effort to forestall wholesale cultural transformation as it was a decision responsive to legal problems. \$15.00

**HARVARD  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS** 79 GARDEN ST.,  
CAMBRIDGE, MA. 02138





International Acclaim for  
IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN

# THE MODERN WORLD-SYSTEM

CAPITALIST AGRICULTURE AND THE ORIGINS OF THE  
EUROPEAN WORLD-ECONOMY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

FROM THE *NEW YORK TIMES*,  
DEC. 29, 1974:

"Wallerstein's book aims to achieve nothing less than a coherent understanding of the making of the modern world and the unique development within it of modern capitalism. . . . 'The Modern World-System' is a well-written and excellently edited book complete with an extensive bibliography and a footnote apparatus that makes up at least half of the text. Yet this is only the first installment; three more volumes are promised. . . . To judge from this first volume—a tour de force that brings together and makes sense of a wealth of diverse historical studies which often seem to contradict one another—the work when it is completed promises to be an extremely formidable achievement."

—GERTRUD LENZER,  
*Brooklyn College, C.U.N.Y.*

"... It is a scholarly effort of considerable dimensions. The approach constitutes a comprehensive study of society. To be successful it requires a historian's overview coupled with the appreciation of the technical elements and 'way of addressing' questions characteristic of each of several social sciences. The challenge is therefore quite demanding. Wallerstein has very largely met these requisites. . . . What is undeniably striking . . . is the perspective which the work offers on early modern Europe. There is no other book on the current scene, of such fine grain, that offers this contribution." —*Choice*, Dec. 1974

FROM THE ADVANCE REVIEWS:

"I can say without hesitation that it is the finest book of analytic history that I have read in the last ten years. That Europe had formed a world economy around herself historians knew, but only in general. What they had never thought about with the keenness and intelligence which characterizes I. Wallerstein's thought is that this entity provides a new framework for the subject of European history, that it is compelling, a new explanation, a new classification, indeed a revolutionary one, of received knowledge and current thought. . . ."

—FERNAND BRAUDEL, *Collège de France*

"... it isn't just history or economics or sociology or political science. It is all of these in combination, and thus places all of these fields on a new plane of understanding. It is a book that people will have to deal with, argue with, cite, learn by *in order* to make their own points, take their own departures. . . . In sum, this is a most impressive work. I can hardly wait for the other volumes. . . ."

—ERIC R. WOLF,  
*Herbert H. Lehman College, C.U.N.Y.*

"The first and only serious, comprehensive and successful attempt to advance an analysis and explanation of the early development of a world economy, the understanding of which is essential for the proper appreciation of all subsequent development. This book should become a classic immediately upon publication."

—ANDRE GUNDER FRANK,  
*Max-Planck Institute*

1974, 416 pp., \$16.50/£7.90

Prices subject to change without notice.

## ACADEMIC PRESS

A Subsidiary of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers  
111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003  
24-28 Oval Road, London NW1 7DX

## **SLAVERY, RACE AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

DUNCAN J. MACLEOD

How far was it possible to reconcile Revolutionary pretensions with the continued existence of slavery, and what was the cost of such reconciliation to white American society? This fascinating study opens up to present-day readers the underlying causes and subtleties of this ambivalent situation that plagued the South and had a deep and troublesome impact on the entire nation. Here, for the first time, a historian deals comprehensively with a subject which others have touched upon only incidentally.

Cloth \$15.95 Paper \$5.95

## **POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND SOCIETY IN ARGENTINA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD**

TULIO HALPERIN-DONGHI

Professor Halperin-Donghi traces the rise of political life and a political leadership in the River Plate area during Argentina's struggle for independence from Spain. \$38.50

## **GUNPOWDER AND GALLEYS**

Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century

J. F. GUILMARTIN

Concentrating on the Spanish, Venetian and Ottoman Empire fleets, the author analyzes all aspects of galley warfare and the impact of social, economic, geographic and climatic factors. \$25.00

## **REFORMATION AND RESISTANCE IN TUDOR LANCASHIRE**

CHRISTOPHER HAIGH

This work demonstrates how geographical, social and economic factors made Lancashire unique in the history of religious change. \$23.50

## **TIMOLEON AND THE REVIVAL OF GREEK SICILY 334-317 B.C.**

R. J. A. TALBERT

Dr. Talbert reappraises the career and achievements of the Corinthian general who led a successful resistance movement against Carthaginian despotism. \$15.00

*Cambridge University Press*

32 East 57th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022



# DORSEY

## historical perspectives

### Two-Volume Paperback

#### **MEN, WOMEN, AND ISSUES IN AMERICAN HISTORY**

**Edited by Howard H. Quint and Milton Cantor,**  
both of the University of Massachusetts

Supplementary texts, these absorbing original biographical essays examine individual men and women and their place in American history. The authors, all experts in their fields, explore political, economic, social, or intellectual contributions by focusing on such forces as family traditions and background, friendships which influenced them, and economic commitments to which they were devoted. Just Published

#### **THE AGE OF CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1830-1900: A Book of Interpretative Essays, Revised Edition**

**Edited by Charles Crowe,** University of Georgia

Critical essays present the major recent scholarship on this period in American history. New chapters discuss comparative slavery and racism, and the black community beyond slavery. Includes new material on women, racism, and American Indians. An introductory essay and a bibliography introduce each chapter. Paperbound/Just Published

#### **PORTRAITS IN BRITISH HISTORY**

**Edited by Ronald Pollitt and Herbert Curry,**  
both of the University of Cincinnati

Only supplement on the market which is designed to illuminate British history from the Anglo-Saxon era to the twentieth century by means of biographical sketches. The focus is on lesser known or "second line" personalities. Each chapter examines both the individual and his or her relationship to events in a given period of British history. Paperbound/Just Published

*Examination copies for adoption consideration available on request; please indicate course title and text presently used.*

### **THE DORSEY PRESS**

**Homewood, Illinois 60430**

*Write for our complete catalog!*

---

## China's Modern Economy in Historical Perspective

*Dwight H. Perkins, Editor.* Why did it take China more than a century after its defeat in the first Opium War to begin systematically acquiring the fruits of modern technology? To what extent did the rapid economic developments after 1949 depend, not on the socialist reorganization of society, but on features unique to China and to Chinese history? These are the major questions examined in this collection of papers which challenges many previously accepted generalizations about China's modern economy. Topics include the effects of foreign imperialism on Chinese economic development, the adequacy of China's financial resources for major economic initiatives, and the influence of the Yenan period on the economic thinking of China's leaders. \$13.85

Now in Paperback

## The Pattern of the Chinese Past

*Mark Elvin.* "Without doubt the most lucid and stimulating introduction to the problems of the economic and social history of traditional China at present available."—*The Economist*. "A brilliant achievement. . . . Will stand out as a landmark in Chinese social and economic studies."—*The Journal of Asian Studies*. "Will attract attention both for its obvious merits—readability, attention to large and important problems, frequent brilliant historical insights—and because the author's interpretations at times depart considerably from the received consensus."—*The China Quarterly*. Cloth, \$12.50; paper, \$3.95



Stanford University Press

---

### THE PUERTO RICANS

*Edited by Kal Wagenheim with Olga Jimenez de Wagenheim.* A documentary history of Puerto Rico's 500 year history from its discovery in 1493 to the search for independence in the '70s. "An essential sourcebook."—*N.Y. Times*. Paperbound, \$3.50

### THE WINTER SOLDIERS

*Richard Ketchum.* In this richly detailed chronicle of the winter of 1776, "the American Revolution begins to appear as a tale of men like ourselves who did their best in what looked like a failing cause and won a brilliant success."—*Bruce Catton*. Paperbound, \$3.50

### AMERICAN ZIONISM FROM HERZL TO THE HOLOCAUST

*Melvin I. Urofsky.* An examination of the Zionist movement in America, focusing on its extraordinary leaders—Brandeis, Wise, Mack, Frankfurter—and its impact on the country, both within and beyond the Jewish community. Hardcover, \$10.00.

### BLACK MIGRATION: 1900-1920

*Florette Henri.* Probing the roots of the racial tensions still evident in America's cities, this new study charts the demographic, economic, political, social and psychological changes brought about by the earliest wave of black northward migration. Hardcover, \$10.00

### EXCEPT TO WALK FREE

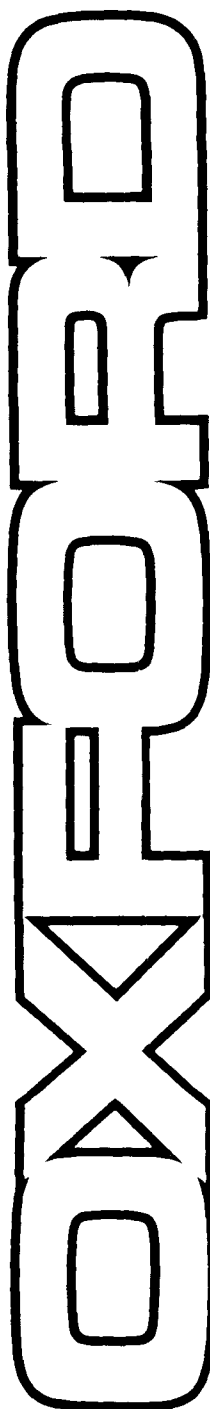
*Documents and Notes in the History of American Labor*

*Edited with notes by Albert Fried.* The first comprehensive documentary of the American labor movement, from the Jacksonian era to the present day. A Doubleday Anchor Original. Paperbound, \$2.95



Doubleday & Company, Inc.  
Garden City, New York 11530





## American Vistas

Volume I: 1607-1877

Volume II: 1877 to the Present

Second Edition

Edited by LEONARD DINNERSTEIN, University of Arizona, and KENNETH T. JACKSON, Columbia University. This two-volume anthology offers students lively and incisive articles on topics in American social history which do not receive extended coverage in standard texts. The Second Edition includes new readings on slave culture, the American woman, the suburbs, the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, Chicanos, the relationship between the U.S. and China, and Watergate among others.

Spring 1975

Volume I: 272 pp. paper \$2.95

Volume II: 416 pp. paper \$3.50

## A Biography of the Constitution of the United States

Its Origin, Formation, Adoption, Interpretation

Second Edition

BROADUS MITCHELL, Emeritus Professor, Rutgers University, and LOUISE PEARSON MITCHELL. A concise, non-technical history, this text highlights the significant events in the formation of the U.S. Constitution as well as some of the controversies that have arisen over its interpretation since it was adopted. New material on the Constitutional convention debate over impeachment, the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, the three amendments of the last ten years including the Equal Rights Amendment, the abortion controversy in the courts, and the one man, one vote issue bring the volume up-to-date.

Spring 1975

432 pp.

cloth \$12.95

paper \$3.50

## The American Party Systems

Stages of Political Development

Second Edition

Edited by WILLIAM NISBET CHAMBERS, Washington University, and WALTER DEAN BURNHAM, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Widely acclaimed as a standard work on American political parties, this volume brings together essays by historians and political scientists concerning the origins, characteristics, and functions of the American political party system. In this edition, Professor Burnham includes a new essay on the politics of the 1970s in which he describes a critical political realignment taking place outside of the traditional party system.

June 1975

380 pp.

8 charts

cloth \$11.95

paper \$3.95

## The Rise of Modern China

Second Edition

IMMANUEL C. Y. HSÜ, University of California, Santa Barbara. The Second Edition of this authoritative work continues to offer one of the most definitive accounts of China's transformation from a traditional universal Confucian empire to a modern national Communist state. For this edition, Professor Hsü expands and updates his discussion with new material on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; the rise and fall of Lin Piao; the Tenth Party Congress in 1973 and its impact on the new power structure; the Sino-American detente and its triangular relationship with Russia; and the future of Taiwan.

Summer 1975

890 pp.

88 halftones

trade edition \$16.00

text edition \$11.50



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

200 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

*An AWARD-WINNING teacher/scholar  
explores America's history from  
a provocative new perspective—*

**Robert Kelley**

University of California, Santa Barbara

# **The Shaping of the American Past**

**I**n this exciting new text, Robert Kelley narrates the drama of American life, with all its complexities, in such relevant terms that your students will have little trouble understanding and appreciating America's present in light of its past.

“In this formulation, political narrative becomes like life itself: pluralistic, many sided, a compound of emotions and mutual images, as well as of economic motives. It also becomes closely interwoven with the history of the disadvantaged and the exploited; blacks, women, American Indians, workers and farmers, European immigrants, Mexican-Americans— all receive close attention in this book.”

—from the Preliminary Remarks

*The traditional themes—  
narrated, analyzed, and synthesized  
in terms of the “new political history ...*

### **contents:**

Preliminary Remarks • Introduction: The Historian's Task • Origins • The Beginnings: The South • The Beginnings: New England • The Beginnings: The Middle Colonies • American Life and Thought in the Eighteenth Century • The Revolution • Forming the Nation • The New Nation: The Federalist Era • The Age of Jefferson • The Great Transformation: The Physical Dimension • New Ways of Thinking: The Age of Boundlessness • The Nationalist Era • The Age of Jackson • Surge to the Pacific • Abolitionism: The Building Storm • The Shifting Balance: The North and the South at Midcentury • Disruption Begins: Bleeding Kansas • The Nation Splits Apart • The Civil War • Reconstruction • Late Nineteenth-Century America: Growth and Development • Late Nineteenth-Century America: The Nation in Crisis • The Age of Cleveland: The Politics of Instability • Emergence to World Power • The Progressive Era: New Ways of Thinking • The Progressive Era: Republicans in Charge • The Progressive Era: Democrats in Charge • America and the First World War • The American Mind Between the Wars • The Republican Era: Triumph and Disaster • Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal • America and the Second World War • The Cold War • The Complacent Years: Truman and Eisenhower • Years of the Whirlwind: the 1960's • The Politics of Turmoil: Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon • The End of American Innocence: The Vietnam War • The American Nation: A Comparison Across Time  
Text also includes: General Bibliography • The Declaration of Independence • The Constitution of the United States • Presidential Elections • Date of Statehood • Population of the United States • Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Cabinet Members  
• Index

Combined Volume: **The Shaping of the American Past**

January 1975 1248 pp. clothbound 80796-6 \$13.95

Vol. I: **The Shaping of the American Past to 1877**

January 1975 478 pp. paper 80794-1 \$7.95

Vol. II: **The Shaping of the American Past from 1865 to the Present**

January 1975 524 pp. paper 80795-8 \$7.95

**Study Guide** 204 pp. paper 80797-4 \$3.95

**Instructor's Manual** 156 pp. paper 80798-2 n/c

**Test Item File** 164 pp. paper 80799-0 n/c

**For more information write:** Robert Jordan, College Division Dept. J173,  
Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632

**from Prentice-Hall**

# The freshest ideas are from Viking

## STALIN

**The Man and His Era**  
by Adam Ulam, Harvard University

"...a full one-volume biography...which is likely to remain the most detailed and comprehensive study of Stalin..."

—PAUL AVRICH, *New York Times Book Review*  
768 pages

\$4.95 paper (C568); \$12.95 cloth

## COLLECTED ESSAYS

by George Lichtheim

The major essays of the brilliant theorist, historian, and critic, in which he explores many of the important international social, political, and intellectual issues of the twentieth century. 512 pages

\$3.95 paper (C569); \$15.00 cloth

## MAX WEBER

by Donald G. MacRae  
London School of Economics

An analysis and interpretation of the great German thinker's genius and influence in sociology, law, economics, history, and religion. MODERN MASTERS SERIES 128 pages

\$2.25 paper (M25); \$5.95 cloth

## PURITANISM IN AMERICA

**New Culture in a New World**  
by Larzer Ziff, Oxford University

One of the first attempts to synthesize the intellectual, social, and economic aspects of American Puritanism into a single historical study. 352 pages

\$2.95 paper (C571); \$10.00 cloth

## AMERICAN ROULETTE

**The History and Dilemma of the**

**Vice-Presidency**

by Donald Young

**Revised and Updated**

**Introduction by Senator Birch Bayh**

A thorough, stimulating study of the nation's second highest office and the men who have held it—from John Adams to Gerald Ford. "...a bright, well-covered, up-to-date account of the nation's vital second office..." —LOUIS KOENIG, N.Y.U.

448 pages \$3.95 paper (C570)

## THE PORTABLE THOMAS JEFFERSON

Edited by Merrill D. Peterson  
University of Virginia

A judicious selection of Jefferson's most important writings. Included are *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, other key state papers and addresses, and seventy-nine letters. 640 pages

\$3.95 paper (P80); \$7.95 cloth

625 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

## A CITY IN TERROR

**1919—The Boston Police Strike**  
by Francis Russell

A fascinating, masterfully detailed account of the first American urban police strike and the era in which it occurred. Illustrated.

288 pages \$10.00 cloth May

## RESIGNATION IN PROTEST

**Political and Ethical Choices between**  
**Loyalty to Team and Loyalty to**

**Conscience in American Public Life**

by Edward Weisband, SUNY at  
Binghamton, and Thomas Franck, N.Y.U.

A timely, provocative study which examines major high-level governmental resignations from William Jennings Bryan to Elliot Richardson.

GROSSMAN PUBLISHERS

320 pages \$10.00 cloth

## IMPEACHMENT OF RICHARD M. NIXON,

**PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

**The Final Report of the Committee on the**  
**Judiciary, House of Representatives,**

**Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Chairman**

**With an introduction by R. W. Apple, Jr.**

**of The New York Times**

The momentous final report of the Committee on the Judiciary in its entirety.

864 pages \$17.50 cloth May

## DOCUMENTS OF NAZISM, 1919-1945

**Introduced and edited by**

**Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham**

The first comprehensive collection in English of major documents relating to the rise of Nazism and to the Third Reich in peace and war. 704 pages

\$20.00 cloth

## CARDIGAN

**A Life of Cardigan of Balaclava**

by Donald Thomas, University of Cardiff

A scrupulously researched, zestful biography of James Brudenell which illuminates aristocratic life in England between the Regency and the heyday of Victoria. Illustrated.

384 pages \$12.50 cloth

## ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF HOGARTH

by Derek Jarrett, University of London

William Hogarth's extraordinary work provides the starting point for this well-written, richly illustrated study of social and cultural life in 18th-century England. 70 illustrations.

256 pages \$15.00 cloth

For a complete catalogue  
of all Viking paperback books,  
write to:



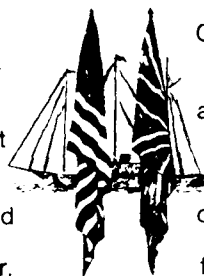
# THE VIKING PRESS



## The Alabama Claims

*American Politics and Anglo-American Relations, 1865-1872*

By ADRIAN COOK. This sound and lucidly written study is the first modern account of the settlement of the Alabama claims—America's demands for compensation from Great Britain for the damages done by the Confederate cruisers that were allowed to escape from British ports during the Civil War.



Basing his argument on exhaustive research, Mr. Cook describes the numerous factors that made the negotiations difficult, assesses the men who conducted them, and makes clear the high degree to which domestic public opinion affected the formation of United States foreign policy. \$13.50

### New Titles

*Aspects of Greek and Roman Life series*

## Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World

By ALEXANDER G. McKAY. Enhanced by over 150 illustrations of plans, sites and reconstructions, this up-to-date book surveys Roman domestic architecture from the time of the Etruscans to the late Roman Empire. Mr. McKay examines simple houses, man-

sions, estates, and palatial buildings in the light of recent excavations and contemporary scholarship, paying particular attention to accounts of ancient writers that deal with house design, interiors, furnishings, and gardens. \$19.75

## Utopias of the Classical World

By JOHN FERGUSON. Starting with Homer and a discussion of little-known early Utopias, this highly readable survey explores both familiar and unfamiliar ground. The author considers the ideal commonwealths conceived by Plato and by the important thinkers of the first century of the

Hellenistic age, Jewish Messianism, the Romano-Christian tradition, and St. Augustine's *The City of God*. Of special interest is his analysis of the interaction between theory and practice, and particularly the impact of Utopian thought on politics. \$11.50

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS ITHACA AND LONDON



## The Social Fabric

**I. American Life from 1607 to the Civil War**

**II. American Life from the Civil War to the Present**

**John H. Cary**

**Julius Weinberg**

Both at Cleveland State University

Designed to complement the basic survey text rather than repeat it, the two paperback volumes of THE SOCIAL FABRIC concentrate on the social history of the American people — the daily lives of a variety of Americans. John Cary and Julius Weinberg have collected scholarly yet extraordinarily graphic and appealing secondary source materials that correspond thematically and chronologically with the central issues taken up in the American History survey course.

"I was particularly impressed by the originality of the selections . . . Clearly the editors have made a serious effort to bring to the undergraduate student some of the most absorbing and stimulating literature on the nation's social record. They have put together a reader with the student in mind." — Donald Miller, Monmouth College

Paper Vol. I 336 pages  
each January 1975 \$5.50  
Illustrated  
Vol. II 304 pages

## Time on the Cross

**The Economics of American Negro Slavery**

**Robert W. Fogel**

University of Chicago, University of Rochester

**Stanley L. Engerman**

University of Rochester

Already one of the year's most talked-about books, this landmark in American economic history represents a sweeping re-examination of the economic foundations of American Negro slavery. The special supplementary volume — EVI-DENCE AND METHODS — includes source references, plus three comprehensive appendices that discuss in detail the technical, methodological and theoretical bases for the book.

"It is absolutely stunning, quite simply the most exciting and provocative book I've read in years . . . It will stand out as a remarkable achievement." —

Stephen Thernstrom, Harvard University  
"TIME ON THE CROSS is dynamite. This study of the ways and means of American slavery overturns popular beliefs and traditional interpretations so drastically that 'revisionist' is a feeble description of its thrust. Its findings will be debated by specialists for years to come." —

*Newsweek*

Paper Vol. I 286 pages 1974 \$4.95  
Vol. II 288 pages 1974 \$6.95

## Three new titles in the Library of American Biography Series:

**American Genesis:**

**Captain John Smith**

**and the Founding of Virginia**

**Alden Vaughan**

Columbia University

Paper 224 pages January 1975 \$2.95

**Andrew Carnegie and the Rise of Big Business**

**Harold Livesay**

University of Michigan

Paper 240 pages February 1975 \$3.95 tent.

**Herbert Hoover:**

**Forgotten Progressive**

**Joan Hoff Wilson**

California State College, Sacramento

Paper 300 pages April 1975 \$3.95 tent.

## Urban America

**A History with Documents**

**Bayrd Still**

New York University

This is a comprehensive survey of the urban dimension of American society from early colonial times to the present, amplified by excerpts from contemporaneous writing. "A masterpiece of a new sort. You do not try to organize your material into narrative form and as a result you have produced a rich documentary portrayal of the life and growth of cities in successive eras." — Blake McKelvey, Rochester, New York  
Paper 566 pages 1974 \$7.95

## The Discovery of the Asylum

**Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic**

**David J. Rothman**

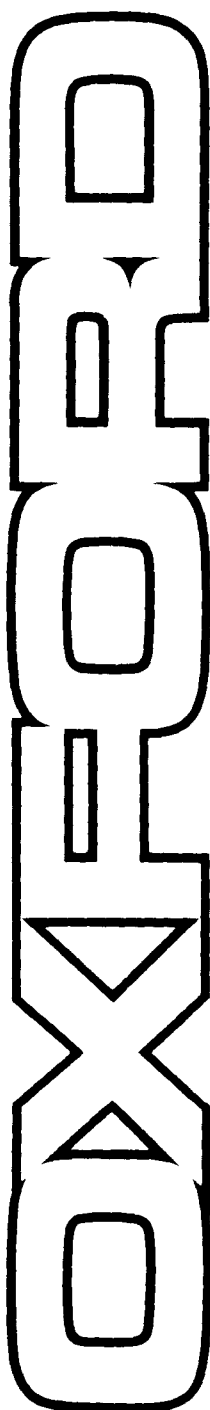
Columbia University

"This is more than a book about 'the discovery of the asylum,' it is also a major study in the development of the American character . . . The result is nothing less than a portrait of a whole generation of Americans, caught in a variety of revealing and sometimes contradictory poses." — John Demos, *New York Times Book Review*.

The 1971 Beveridge Award winner.

Paper 376 pages 1972 \$4.95





### From the Dardanelles to Oran

Studies of the Royal Navy at War and Peace 1915-1940

ARTHUR J. MARDER, University of California, Irvine. Professor Marder continues his research on the Royal Navy in five essays dealing with controversial subjects during and after the first World War. He reconsiders the naval aspects of the Dardanelles and whether the Royal Navy adequately learned the lessons of war. He studies Winston Churchill's dynamic and controversial role as First Lord of the Admiralty before he became Prime Minister in 1940. A final and major essay of the book deals with the sacrifice of French warships at Oran.

1974

320 pp.; 14 illus.; 5 maps

\$21.00

### A History of Modern Norway 1814-1972

T. K. DERRY. "This is a well-conceived, well-balanced and well-written book for which the British author deserves great credit . . . there is no doubt that just as modern Norway has fulfilled most of its nineteenth-century aspirations so has Dr. Derry succeeded in writing a truly fine history of this accomplishment."—Ernst Ekman, University of California, Riverside, in the American Historical Review

1973

528 pp.; 8 plates; maps

\$16.00

### Canada's War

The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government 1939-1945

J. L. GRANATSTEIN. The first World War saw the transition of Canada from colony to semi-autonomous state and the second World War rapidly altered Canada to genuine nationhood. This study of Canada's war centers on Mackenzie King, the political leader who ran and shaped the war effort. The author discusses how King and his government grappled with the political, financial, economic and racial issues of the time. The book is based on King's papers and those of Canadian, British and American government officials.

1975

448 pp.; 16 plates

\$18.95

### The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789

OLWEN H. HUFTON. Demographic growth in eighteenth-century France brought about deterioration in the living standard, placing one-third to a half of the population in continual threat of poverty. The author describes the efforts of the poor to earn a living by casual labor, cottage industry, migration, begging or smuggling, and deals with governmental, institutional and private responses to the problem.

1974

420 pp.; 8 plates; figs.

\$29.00

### British Politics and the Stamp Act Crisis

The First Phase of the American Revolution 1763-1767

P. D. G. THOMAS. Three aspects of the British policy toward the American colonies in the early years of the Revolution are discussed: the policies of the Grenville ministry, the attempts of the first Rockingham ministry to solve the Stamp Act crisis and the aftermath of the crisis during the Chatham ministry. The author views the evolution of British political attitudes in this period as a process involving all segments of the British political machinery.

1975

395 pp.

\$25.75



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

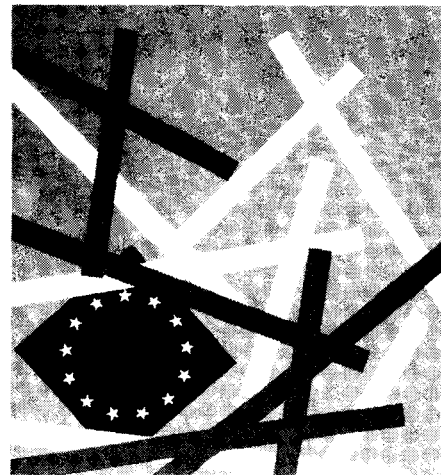
200 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

“A complete history of the American Revolution can never be written until the history of change in each state is known,” said John Adams in 1807.

# The American Revolution Within America

by MERRILL JENSEN

Professor Jensen takes a look at our second president's wise assessment that “the principles of the American Revolution may be said to have been as various as the thirteen states that went through it...thirteen revolutions, for that number of established governments were overthrown and as many new ones erected.” He examines the birth of the American nation over the eleven year period between the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the writing of the Constitution, paying careful attention to the particulars of the revolution in each of the states united against a common foe. \$9.50



*Related titles on  
Early American History—*

**VISIBLE SAINTS:  
THE HISTORY OF  
A PURITAN IDEA**

by Edmund Sears Morgan \$6.95

**THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE  
OF COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND**

by Samuel Eliot Morison \$8.50

**MEDICINE AND SOCIETY  
IN AMERICA:  
1660-1860**

by Richard Harrison Shryock \$7.95

**NYU Press**

Washington Square,  
New York 10003

**NEW FROM  
ALFRED A. KNOPF**

## **Generations**

### **YOUR FAMILY IN MODERN AMERICAN HISTORY**

**Allen F. Davis**, Temple University, and  
**Jim Watts**, City College of New York

**Generations** teaches American history through individuals in whom students have an interest — their *ancestors*. The authors provide readings and ask questions which focus on the relationships between the students' ancestors and the historical forces which affected their lives, since the migrations of the late nineteenth century.

Selections by such people as Betty Friedan, Michael Gold, Studs Terkel, and John Dos Passos, along with approximately 106 photographs, serve to convey ideas and images about some common American experiences. The authors encourage the student to do research and write a research paper by including appendices that contain suggestions for gathering information; two samples of family histories; sample questionnaires; and suggested interview topics.

October, 1974; 224 pages (paperback); Order Code 31752

**Instructor's Manual**; Order Code 31753

## **Western Europe in the Middle Ages**

### **SECOND EDITION**

**Brian Tierney**, Cornell University,  
and **Sidney Painter**

A thorough revision and updating of a highly successful text. *New material* has been added on the Byzantine Empire; the Mediterranean World; the Cathar heretics; and the French Monarchy. 53 *illustrations* reproduce wall paintings, frescoes, artifacts, and illuminated manuscripts. There are 22 *maps*; 12 genealogical tables; a chronological listing of medieval Popes; chapter introductions; and chapter bibliographies, including references to Tierney's recently revised **The Middle Ages: Sources of Medieval History** and **The Middle Ages: Readings in Medieval History**.

August, 1974; 571 pages; Order Code 31859

## **Japan**

### **THE STORY OF A NATION REVISED EDITION**

**Edwin O. Reischauer**, Harvard University

The modern classic, newly revised and updated. Material on the modern period has been revised and expanded to put greater emphasis on domestic politics. September, 1974; 432 pages (paperback); Order Code 31900

For examination copies, please write, stating course title, enrollment, and decision date.

**ALFRED A. KNOPF**

The College Review Desk

400 Hahn Road

Westminster, Maryland 21157



A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE!

# Freedom and Crisis

AN AMERICAN HISTORY

**Allen Weinstein** and  
**R. Jackson Wilson**, of Smith College

"This book is a surprise—it lives up to almost every claim made in the publisher's promotional material! If we can apply the term "alive" to something physically inanimate as a book, we can do so in this case. The authors have managed to weave together both the written word and visuals, the secondary and primary historical writings, and the details and the broad-sweep of history into a volume which should find wide use on the survey level."—*Gerald Michael Schnabel, Bemidji State College, Bemidji, Minnesota*

"Refreshing change from the standard texts which all have similar formats. I like the use of "highlighting" which precedes each unit. I am still examining but it looks like what I have been looking for in a college survey."—*Phillip R. Royal, Jefferson State Jr. College, Birmingham, Alabama*

Published 1974 Single Volume  
952 pages Order Code 31626  
Volume I, paper (to 1877)  
520 pages Order Code 31823  
Volume II, paper (since 1860)  
512 pages Order Code 31824  
Instructor's Manual Order Code 31875

REVISED

# American History

A SURVEY  
FOURTH EDITION

**Richard N. Current**, University of  
North Carolina, Greensboro  
**T. Harry Williams**, Louisiana  
State University  
**Frank Freidel**, Harvard University

... still the most balanced and comprehensive survey of American History!

- Four-color pictorial essays on the history of American art and architecture presented in five eight-page inserts
- Expansion of the *Where Historians Disagree* series to include an opening essay "Why Historians Disagree"
- Expanded treatment of the roles of women and minorities in American history
- Expansion of the text to explore contemporary topics such as the energy crisis, the Watergate investigations, the U.S. role in Vietnam, and the growing concern with environment and ecology
- Primary source materials; many of them new in this edition . . . 200 illustrations with extensive captions; over 100 are new . . . 80 maps . . . 20 charts and graphs . . . chapter bibliographies

January, 1975 Single Volume  
944 pages Order Code 31863  
Volume I, paper (to 1877)  
480 pages Order Code 31864  
Volume II, paper (since 1865)  
496 pages Order Code 31866



**NEW EDITION**

# A Short History of Western Civilization

**FOURTH EDITION**

**John B. Harrison and Richard E. Sullivan**  
both of Michigan State University

The fourth edition of this brief and balanced introduction to Western civilization has been considerably shortened and updated. Presenting basic themes, the book gives equal weight to political, social and economic aspects of history, emphasizing Western civilization, but also treating non-western civilizations where appropriate.

For the fourth edition, the text has been shortened by approximately 250 pages. Portions covering the ancient and medieval periods have been reduced considerably in length, moving the midway point of the text from 1500 to 1660. The final two chapters, "The Cold War in Europe" and "The Challenge of the Non-Western World" have been extensively rewritten.

*100 halftone illustrations, six "Where Historians Disagree" essays, 47 maps, chapter bibliographies, Study Guide, Instructor's Manual*

March, 1975      760 pages

The College Review Desk

**NEW**

## The Roman Experience

**L. P. Wilkinson**, Cambridge University

A cultural history of ancient Roman civilization during the "Classical" period — 2nd century B.C. through 2nd century A.D. The author goes beyond political narrative to describe the actual experiences of individuals in ancient Rome — how they lived, what they felt, and what they experienced from the inside. The lives of certain key figures are detailed to convey the flavor of each era. The book includes a chronology, an extensive bibliography, and a detailed index.

Published 1974      220 pages, paperbound

**NEW**

## From Waterloo to the Common Market

**J. B. Conacher**, University of Toronto

Volume 5 in the Borzoi History of England analyzes important political and social changes in Britain from 1815 to the present. Professor Conacher focuses on three major themes: the rise and fall of British imperial power; Britain's response to the industrial revolution; and the slow emergence of democratic government. The book includes maps, cartoons, a bibliography, and a special appendix explaining the British parliamentary system.

February, 1975      352 pages



# ALFRED A. KNOPF

400 Hahn Road, Westminster, Maryland 21157

JOHNS HOPKINS

*New this spring!*

## National Consciousness, History & Political Culture in Early-Modern Europe

*Edited by OREST RANUM*

What elements constitute the collective identification of individuals as "nations"? What conjunction of institutions, ideas, and events leads to the formation of nation-states? In these essays, six leading scholars explore the motivating forces behind changing perceptions of the past and examine how emotional responses became linked to the elements providing for national identity.

*Available in March**\$10.00*

## The Federal Machine

*Beginnings of Bureaucracy in Jacksonian America**MATTHEW A. CRENSON*

Significant major changes toward the bureaucratic form of government were made during the administration of Andrew Jackson. Crenson traces the process in the two then-largest agencies of the U. S. government — the Post Office Department and the General Land Office. He contends that Jacksonians resorted to rules, regulations, and surveillance in order to guarantee the reliability of human integrity.

*Available in April**\$10.00*

## In Pursuit of Profit

*The Annapolis Merchants  
in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805*

*EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE*

Papenfuse concentrates on Annapolis, one of the first and most important outport towns, in his study of the urban growth and economic development in the Chesapeake region in the latter half of the eighteenth century. He examines the careers of some thirty merchants, the first Americans to be backed exclusively by native rather than British capital at this time, and assesses their impact on the economy of the area. *Maryland Bicentennial Studies*

*Available in May**\$12.00*

**The Johns Hopkins University Press  
Baltimore, Maryland 21218**

## New from Chicago

### THE CONSTITUTION AND THE DELEGATION OF CONGRESSIONAL POWER

**Sotirios A. Barber**

In this timely study Sotirios A. Barber proposes a set of guidelines designed to alert the courts and the public to excessive or improper delegations of congressional power. He then examines how these guidelines might have functioned in some of the major delegation cases in U.S. history, including both the New Deal's National Recovery Act as well as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

1975 176 pages Cloth \$12.00

### HEGEL ON REASON AND HISTORY

A Contemporary Interpretation

**George Dennis O'Brien**

George Dennis O'Brien here presents the first extended interpretative commentary on *Reason in History*, the most widely read book on Hegel's philosophy of history. This is a contemporary interpretation because it places Hegel's views on history in the context of modern discussions not only about the philosophy of historical events but also about the methods of historiography.

1975 192 pages Cloth \$8.50

### THE ASIAN TRADE REVOLUTION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade

**Niels Steensgaard**

Niels Steensgaard combines an analytical economic approach with detailed historical scholarship to provide an imaginative and important analysis of a central incident of modern world history—the breaking of the Portuguese monopoly on Asian trade in the seventeenth century by English and Dutch mercantile interests.

1975 442 pages Cloth \$15.00 Paper \$4.95

### PURITANISM AND LIBERTY

*Second Edition*

Being the Army Debates (1647-49) from the Clarke Manuscripts  
with Supplementary Documents

**Selected and edited with an Introduction by A. S. P. Woodhouse**

**With a Preface by Ivan Roots**

"... an invaluable aid to those interested in the development of the political assumptions upon which this country was founded."—Alex Gottfried, *Western Political Quarterly*

1975 506 pages Cloth \$15.00

### SYMBOLIC DOMINATION

Cultural Form and Historical Change in Morocco

**Paul Rabinow**

Using a historical-anthropological approach, the author conducted intensive research in the village of Sidi Lahcen, a seventeenth century Islamic saint, and the home of the saint's descendants. Professor Rabinow's observations explore the shifting conceptions of religion and politics held by the villagers at different points in time, and their relation to the social order which supported these conceptions.

1975 124 pages Cloth \$8.75

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS**  
CHICAGO 60637

## The first history of the great experiment in "council democracy"

"An overdue and most welcome American edition of Anweiler's *Die Rätebewegung in Russland* (1958). As he justly observes in the preface, he was a pioneer in first confronting this subject and, while the last 15 years have seen further scholarly attention to the history of the Soviets, his book remains definitive."  
—*Library Journal* • \$15

# The Soviets

**The Russian Workers, Peasants,  
and Soldiers Councils, 1905-1921**  
by **OSKAR ANWEILER**

Translated from the German  
by Ruth Hein

## A shocking study of madness in the age of reason "a fascinator"\*

"A spell-binding account — not only of the murder of a family by a 'madman,' but also of the murder of free will and responsibility by the mad-doctors. A glimpse into the birth of the psychiatrization of law, the medicalization of crime, and the therapeutization of justice."—THOMAS S. SZASZ, M.D.,  
Professor of Psychiatry • \$10

# I, Pierre Rivière,

having slaughtered my mother,  
my sister, and my brother ...

**A Case of Parricide in the  
19th Century**  
edited by **MICHEL FOUCAULT**

Translated from the French  
by Frank Jellinek

\*Kirkus Reviews

### Major new Pantheon paperbacks

**CHAIRMAN MAO TALKS TO THE PEOPLE**  
edited by STUART SCHRAM. \$2.95 (also in hardcover, \$10)

**AN AMERICAN DILEMMA**  
*The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*  
by GUNNAR MYRDAL. In two volumes, \$5.95 each

**ORIGINS OF THE MODERN JAPANESE STATE**  
*Selected Writings of E. H. Norman*  
edited by JOHN W. DOWER. \$5.95 (also in hardcover, \$15.95)

### ...and in Vintage paperback

**MOHAMMED** by MAXIME RODINSON. \$3.95

**FREUD** by OCTAVE MANNONI. \$2.95



Now at your bookstore

**PANTHEON**

# Academy and Community

*The Foundation of the  
French Historical  
Profession*

**William R. Keylor**

"This is a remarkable book. The author combines extraordinary skill in research with the power of synthesizing into lucid chapters the wide variety and extent of his materials."

— Jacques Barzun

Most informed observers would agree that an inordinate proportion of the most exciting, innovative, and groundbreaking work in the field of historical scholarship since the First World War has taken place in the French university system. In this study Mr. Keylor describes the establishment of history as an academic discipline in France between 1870 and 1914 and the formation of the "scientific" school of historical writing in the French university system. \$14.95

**HARVARD  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS**

79 GARDEN ST., CAMBRIDGE, MA. 02138



**THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON**

*Announces*

**THE WEBB-SMITH  
ESSAY COMPETITION**

**\$750.00 AWARD**

*For the best essay of 10,000 words or less on the topic  
of European revolutionary history*

**Manuscripts for 1976 judging must be submitted by**

**February 15, 1976**

Submittal forms and additional information may be obtained from The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lecture Committee, Department of History, The University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas 76019



The winning essay will be published in The Walter Prescott Webb  
Memorial Lecture Series by the

**THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS**

# THE USA

## A Short History of The American Republic

James M. Merrill, *University of Delaware*

Written for students turned off by fact-and-date-crammed books, this is a lively, narrative account that stresses the color and drama of our history. *Action* begins in 1492 and proceeds rapidly to the present. The author concentrates on the people who made American history, and makes full use of anecdotes and first-person reports to stress the color and drama of history. Brief biographies, peopled by figures such as Lewis and Clark, P. T. Barnum, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Cesar Chavez, form a separate American miniatures section at the back of the book.

300 pages/paperbound/1975

### *Contents*

Tierra! Tierra! . . . A Promiscuous Breed  
 . . . I'm Not a Virginian, but an American  
 . . . Why Stand We Here Idle? . . . Long  
 Live George Washington! . . . This Is  
 the Noblest Work of Our Whole Lives  
 . . . Elevate Them Guns a Little Lower . . .  
 Our Federal Union: It Must and Shall  
 Be Preserved . . . That Settles the Hash  
 . . . It's No Use Trying to Whip 'Em . . .  
 The Country Is Going to the Devil! . . .  
 God Has Placed Upon Our Head a Dia-  
 dem . . . In God We Trusted; In Kansas  
 We Busted . . . Americans Must Now

Begin to Look Outward . . . Get Action,  
 Do Things . . . Our Duty Is to Cleanse, to  
 Reconsider, to Restore . . . The Right Is  
 More Precious than Peace . . . Right  
 Thair Was when I Saw What War Really  
 Was . . . My God! How the Money Rolls  
 In . . . This Nation Asks for Action and  
 Action Now . . . We Are Determined to  
 Keep Out of War . . . This Is Not a Drill  
 . . . We Are Now the Defenders of the  
 Stronghold of Democracy . . . Dynamic  
 Conservatism . . . Ultimate Strength Lies  
 in the Unity of the People.

### *American Miniatures*

Noah Webster . . . Nathaniel Bowditch  
 . . . Lewis and Clark . . . Sarah Hale . . .  
 Brigham Young . . . Samuel Colt . . .  
 George Armstrong Custer

P. T. Barnum . . . A. P. Giannini . . . Aimee  
 Semple McPherson . . . Cesar Chavez . . .  
 Martin Luther King, Jr.

### *Appendices*

The Declaration of Independence . . .  
 The Constitution of the United States . . .  
 Presidential Elections, 1789-1972 . . .

Dates of Statehood . . . Decennial Popu-  
 lations of the United States.

# Lippincott

J. B. Lippincott Company

*Division of Higher Education*

East Washington Square • Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

# spring books '75

**The Gun in America: The Origins of a National Dilemma** by Lee Kennett and James LaVerne Anderson. LC 74-5990. x, 339 pp. \$12.95

*The Gun in America* explains why America's present "gun problem" lies in its past. Steering a course between the heavily technical and the sensational, the authors show why the American is inclined to reach for a gun and why one is at hand.

**William Allen White: Maverick on Main Street** by John D. McKee. LC 74-5991. \$12.95

This biography of the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist depicts the man who remained in the wide middle of the political road and who, nevertheless, has had an enduring impact as a mover of American society.

**The Way of the Fox** by Dave Richard Palmer. LC 74-5992. xx, 229 pp. \$12.50

The Revolutionary War was a long, complex struggle. How competent was American strategy? The author demonstrates in a systematic and objective appraisal that General George Washington did, in fact, have superb strategic skills.

**Unrecognized Patriots: The Jews in the American Revolution** by Samuel Rezneck. LC 74-15160. \$13.95

The story of the contributions early American Jews made to society and the legacy they left to succeeding generations, beginning with the American Revolution itself and extending through several post revolutionary themes.

**The Rights of Union Members and the Government** by Philip Taft. LC 74-5994. xv, 348 pp. \$14.95

The first general review and tabulation of the effects of the LMRDA (the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, or the Landrum Griffin Act, 1959) based on actual performance.

**Confederate Women** by Bell Irvin Wiley. LC 74-5995. xv, 204 pp. \$10.95

Southern women of the 1860s were decidedly not the clinging vines described in romantic writing of later years. In this portrait of women of the Confederacy, the author treats at length of three exemplars: Mary Boykin Chesnut, Virginia Tunstall Clay, and Varina Howell Davis.

# GREENWOOD PRESS

a division of Williamhouse-Regency Inc.

51 RIVERSIDE AVENUE, WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT 06880

***New...***

# **TWENTIETH CENTURY EUROPE**

**Alexander Rudhart, Villanova University**

This text presents a comprehensive study of Europe in the first half of the 20th century, examining in detail the passing of European primacy in world affairs and the emergence of the United States, Soviet Russia and the "Third World" as new centers of power. Professor Rudhart has based his material on current research and has made a special effort to include appropriate coverage of areas often neglected in other texts: The Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and the countries of Eastern and Central Eastern Europe. Emphasis on colonial rule between the two world wars explains the roots of post-World War II decolonization.

European history in the first half of the 20th century is viewed largely in terms of the crisis of liberal democracy and the democratic ideal under the challenge of nationalism, industrialism and social conflict. The author gives a particularly thorough account of the Russian and German revolutions of 1917 and 1918, of the social, political and economic history of Bolshevik Russia and of the failure of the democratic experiment in Germany. Special stress is placed on the international implications of Italian Fascist ideology. Chapters on the First and Second World Wars offer both a detailed military history and an interpretation of them as "total wars" under the effect of revolutionary social, scientific and industrial forces of the 19th and 20th centuries.

about 680 pages/clothbound/ready, January 1975.

## **Lippincott**

J. B. Lippincott Company  
Division of Higher Education  
East Washington Square  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

# PRECOLONIAL AFRICA

An Economic and Social History

Robert W. July, Hunter College

A descriptive account of early African history by the author of the highly successful *A History of the African People*. The text, which covers all regions of Africa, analyzes the development and characteristics of the three major societies. An introductory chapter discusses the land and the people; final chapters cover technology and art.

- Part I Beginnings
- Part II The Farmers
- Part III The Herders
- Part IV The Traders
- Part V The Craftsmen

September 1975 256 pages Maps  
Probable Price: Clothbound, \$12.50 Paperbound, \$3.95

# THE CIVILIZATION OF CHINA

Volume I

From the Formative Period to the Coming of the West

Translated and introduced by Dun J. Li, William Paterson State College

This new collection, compiled by a leading translator and author of *The Ageless Chinese*, begins with the folk heroes of early China and ranges up to the arrival of the West. It deals with the philosophers, the rulers, the intellectuals, and others whose writings reflect the problems, conflicts, and concerns of the various periods. Each group of selections is preceded by an introduction which sketches the history of the period and puts the source in context.

March 1975 320 pages Chronology, index  
Clothbound, \$10.00 Paperbound, \$3.95

# WW2

Theodore A. Wilson, University of Kansas

Designed to stimulate class discussion, this provocative collection of documents and essays deals with some of the most controversial and challenging questions about World War II. The selections are drawn from the writings of statesmen, politicians, government commissions, authors, journalists, and soldiers in the field.

- |                                 |                                  |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Unit I Why They Fought          | Unit VI Of War Crimes and        |
| Unit II Total War               | Operational Necessity            |
| Unit III The Sort of War It Was | Unit VII The Nature of Wartime   |
| Unit IV Dimensions of Grand     | Diplomacy                        |
| Strategy                        | Unit VIII Legacies of the Second |
| Unit V Death from the Skies     | World War                        |

Just Published 515 pages Clothbound, \$12.50 Paperbound, \$4.95



CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

597 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017



# Peace or War? Loyalty or Rebellion?



## Your Students can make the choice in

### *Decades of Decision* *The American Revolution*

involve students in the conflicts and hard decisions of the Revolutionary period.

DECADES OF DECISION: THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION is a series of 12 dramatic film resource units from National Geographic. It brings to life in personal, human terms the conflicts of these turbulent years.

Each full-color film has been carefully researched to ensure authenticity. Each dramatizes conflicts in the lives of people with whom students can identify and involves them in open-ended decision-making.

Complete units include extensive teachers' guides containing basic source documents and other materials designed to stimulate inquiry learning.

**ALL TITLES ARE READY FOR PREVIEW NOW!**

*Individual series titles:*

- I **Song of Molasses**  
A Colonial Takes a Stand
- II **Cry Riot**  
Resistance to the Stamp Act and Tax
- III **In All Cases Whatsoever**  
Hopes Left and Stamp Act

- IV **George Washington: The Making of a Rebel**  
Alienation of Allegiance
- V **Look Back in Sorrow**  
The Problem of Loyalty
- VI **Equally Free**  
Freedom: How Much and for Whom?
- VII **Black Winter**  
The Plight of the Common Soldier
- VIII **Mary Kate's War**  
An American Woman During the Revolution
- IX **Not Worth A Continental**  
A Dilemma of Inflation
- X **King's Mountain**  
Brother Against Brother in the Revolution
- XI **The People vs. Job Shattuck**  
Postwar Dissension and Rebellion
- XII **To Form A More Perfect Union**  
Massachusetts Ratifies the Constitution

See for yourself how DECADES OF DECISION: THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION will help you convert student interest in the Bicentennial into a personally meaningful learning experience.

Free 16-mm preview prints are available for purchase consideration from National Geographic Films, c/o Modern Film Rentals, 1212 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N. Y. 10036. Or send purchase orders (\$335 per title) directly to Dept. 1283, National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C. 20036; please specify 16-mm film or video-cassette. Complete series, \$3,720, a \$300 saving. For more information, including free, descriptive full-color brochure and classroom study poster, please write National Geographic Society, Dept. 1283.



**NATIONAL  
GEOGRAPHIC  
SOCIETY**

# Ten Recent Pamphlets

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

AHA PAMPHLETS—narrative and critical essays, including bibliographical guides, on topics in history

- 102 American Intellectual History: The Development of the Discipline  
by *Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.*
- 260 Religion in America: History and Historiography by *Edwin S. Gaustad*
- 311 Ancient Greece by *Mortimer Chambers*
- 312 The Roman Republic by *Erich S. Gruen*
- 401 The Culture of Renaissance Humanism by *William J. Bouwsma*
- 425 East European History: An Ethnic Approach by *R. V. Burks*
- 501 Precolonial African History by *Philip D. Curtin*
- 511 Some Approaches to China's Past by *Charles O. Hucker*
- 513 A History of South Asia by *Robert I. Crane*

DISCUSSIONS ON TEACHING—essays on approaches to history in the classroom

- 2 Teaching History with Film by *John E. O'Connor and Martin A. Jackson*

Pamphlets are \$1.00 each; payment must accompany order. A complete list of titles is available upon request.

The American Historical Association  
Pamphlet Orders A  
400 A Street, SE  
Washington, D.C. 20003

PLEASE SEND TO:

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
ZIP CODE \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose \$\_\_\_\_\_ (check or money order; no stamps please) in payment  
for the \_\_\_\_\_ pamphlets indicated below:

AHA PAMPHLETS 102\_\_\_\_ 260\_\_\_\_ 311\_\_\_\_ 312\_\_\_\_ 401\_\_\_\_ 425\_\_\_\_ 501\_\_\_\_  
511\_\_\_\_ 513\_\_\_\_

DISCUSSIONS ON TEACHING 2\_\_\_\_

Please send complete list of titles\_\_\_\_

**IRELAND, BRITAIN AND GERMANY 1871-1914**

FELICIAN PRILL

Using newspapers, political journals and other primary sources, Dr. Prill digs deeply into the origins of the German attitude toward the Irish problem—a problem which consistently hampered British foreign policy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Spring, 1975. approx. 250 pp. \$18.00

**DOMESTIC SLAVERY IN WEST AFRICA**

JOHN GRACE

Presents the institution of slavery in West Africa on its own terms, using first-hand accounts of ex-slaves, chieftains and contemporary observers. John Grace also traces the attitude of the British slave owners from their original defense of the system, to their eventual attempts to amend or abolish slavery.

Spring, 1975. approx. 300 pp. \$23.50

**BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS WARTIME RESISTANCE IN YUGOSLAVIA AND GREECE**

PHYLLIS AUTY and RICHARD CLOGG, editors

In the first study of the subject since the files were opened to the public in 1972, the authors shed much light on wartime decisions by a British government at loggerheads over the question of resistance in both Yugoslavia and Greece.

Spring, 1975. approx. 250 pp. \$27.50

**THE COMING OF THE FRIARS**

ROSALIND B. BROOK

These documents, dealing with the evolution of the Orders of the Friar, come from a wide variety of medieval sources, including the letters of St. Francis and Valdo's profession of faith. An extensive introduction explains the Order in terms of past mass religious movements and tells of contemporary attitudes and papal policy directed toward the Friars.

Spring, 1975. approx. 208 pp. Index. \$16.50

**THE POLITICS OF DEFERENCE**

**A Study of the Mid-Nineteenth Century English Political System** DAVID C. MOORE

A brilliant use of the sociological approach to explain the nature of 19th century English society—the period of upheaval and change which prefaced modern mass society. Examines why effective groups existed, how they were perpetuated, and how and why they exploited such issues as the Corn Law and provisions of the great Reform Act of 1832.

Spring, 1975. approx. 300 pp. \$22.50

**LIFE WITH LLOYD GEORGE**

A. J. SYLVESTER

Edited With an Introduction by COLIN CROSS

Based on shorthand notes his secretary A. J. Sylvester took over a period of 22 years of events and conversations as they occurred, this is perhaps the most intimate account ever published of a major statesman. In other revealing passages, Lloyd George reminisces about his life and career.

Spring, 1975. approx. 300 pp. \$23.50

**HARPER & ROW**  
 **BARNES & NOBLE**

10 E. 53rd St., New York, New York 10022

## *Lists of Doctoral Dissertations in History*

The *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress or Recently Completed in the United States, May 1970-May 1973* was published in July 1974 at \$5.00 a copy. This *List* attempts for the first time to give the titles not only of dissertations in progress but also of completed dissertations that were reported during the period covered. It is indexed both by author and by subject, thus affording a guide to work at the graduate level.

The *Lists* for 1964, 1967, and 1970 are also available at the prices indicated below.

---

Ph.D. Dissertations  
American Historical Association  
400 A Street S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

I enclose \_\_\_\_\_ (check or money order) in payment for

_____ 1964 <i>List</i>	_____ 1967 <i>List</i>	_____ 1970 <i>List</i>	_____ 1973 <i>List</i>
\$1.50 each	\$2.00 each	\$3.00 each	\$5.00 each

Name (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
(ZIP code)



If you are planning to move, please let us know six weeks before changing your address. Attach address label and fill in your name and new address below. This will ensure prompt service on your subscription.

Attach Label Here  
(address label found on AHR wrapper) Send label with your name and new address to American Historical Association, Membership Department, 400 A St., S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003. If a label is not available, be sure to attach your OLD address, including Zip Code number.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

New address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_



---

## Index of Advertisers

---

Academic Press	20	Macmillan Publishing Co.	4
American Historical Association	46, 48, 49	National Geographic Society	45
Barnes & Noble Books	47	New York University Press	32
Cambridge University Press	21	Oxford University Press	2d Cover, 25, 31
Columbia University Press	12, 13	Pantheon Books	38
Cornell University Press	29	Prentice-Hall	26, 27
Dorsey Press	22	Princeton University Press	4th Cover
Doubleday & Co.	24	Schocken Books	8
Greenwood Press	42	Charles Scribner's Sons	44
Harper & Row, Publishers	15	Stanford University Press	23
Harvard University Press	3d Cover, 19, 39	St. Martin's Press	9
Indiana University Press	11	University of California Press	5
International Congress of Historical Sciences	3	University of Chicago Press	37
Johns Hopkins University Press	36	University of Minnesota Press	14
Alfred A. Knopf	10, 33, 34, 35	University of Texas Press	40
J. B. Lippincott Co.	16, 17, 41, 43	Viking Press	28
Little, Brown & Co.	7, 30	Vintage Books	18
		Yale University Press	6

WILLIAM E. NELSON

# **THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE COMMON LAW**

The Impact of Legal Change on Massachusetts Society, 1760-1830

"William Nelson's *Americanization of the Common Law* is a subtle analysis of the transforming effect of the American Revolution on the development of American society. It will be important for anyone interested in the origins of modern America, for while the technical legal scholarship is masterful, the controlling ideas are not narrowly legal but broadly historical and imaginative. The result is a fascinating essay on the foundation of modern American society as well as an original study in the history of the law." — Bernard Bailyn

\$17.00

**HARVARD  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS** 79 GARDEN ST.,  
CAMBRIDGE, MA. 02138

# Recent American History from Princeton

## THE PAPERS OF WOODROW WILSON

ARTHUR S. LINK, Editor  
DAVID W. HIRST and  
JOHN E. LITTLE,  
Associate Editors

### Volume 15: 1903-1905

This volume finds Wilson beginning the second year of his presidency of Princeton University, and moving boldly to institute several significant reforms. A notable feature of this volume is the variety of documents it contains: sermons, addresses on educational theory and method, annual reports to the Trustees, as well as Wilson's diary and letters. \$22.50

### Volume 16: 1905-1907

This volume opens with Wilson organizing the first systematic campaign among the Princeton alumni to raise money for the preceptorial system which revolutionized the intellectual life of the University. Wilson also begins to gain national political attention from the Democratic party in Volume 16. \$22.50

### Volume 17: 1907-1908

While remaining involved in controversial university issues, in this volume Wilson thrusts himself forward in the role of public spokesman and leader. Volume 17 shows him privately preparing a "Credo" for a small group of conservative New York Democrats who were presumably interested in him as the Democratic presidential nominee in 1908. \$22.50

## THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN REPUBLICS, 1921-1933 DANA G. MUNRO

"With customary solidity and craftsmanship, the notable author traces the evolution of U.S. policies with respect to Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and the five Central American countries between the end of the interventionist Wilson era and the coming of the Good Neighbor Policy."—*Foreign Affairs*  
\$17.50

## THE COLD WAR BEGINS Soviet-American Conflict Over Eastern Europe

LYNN ETHERIDGE DAVIS

Using recently released government documents, Professor Davis shows how U.S. officials' interpretation of Soviet actions in Eastern Europe undermined Allied cooperation around the world and led to the Cold War. *Written under the auspices of the Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University.* \$15.00

### Now in Paperback

*Expanded Edition*  
**PRESIDENTS,  
BUREAUCRATS, AND  
FOREIGN POLICY**  
The Politics of  
Organizational Reform  
I. M. DESTLER

Paperback No. 320, \$3.45  
Cloth, \$12.50

Write for our new History catalogue.

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Princeton, New Jersey 08540